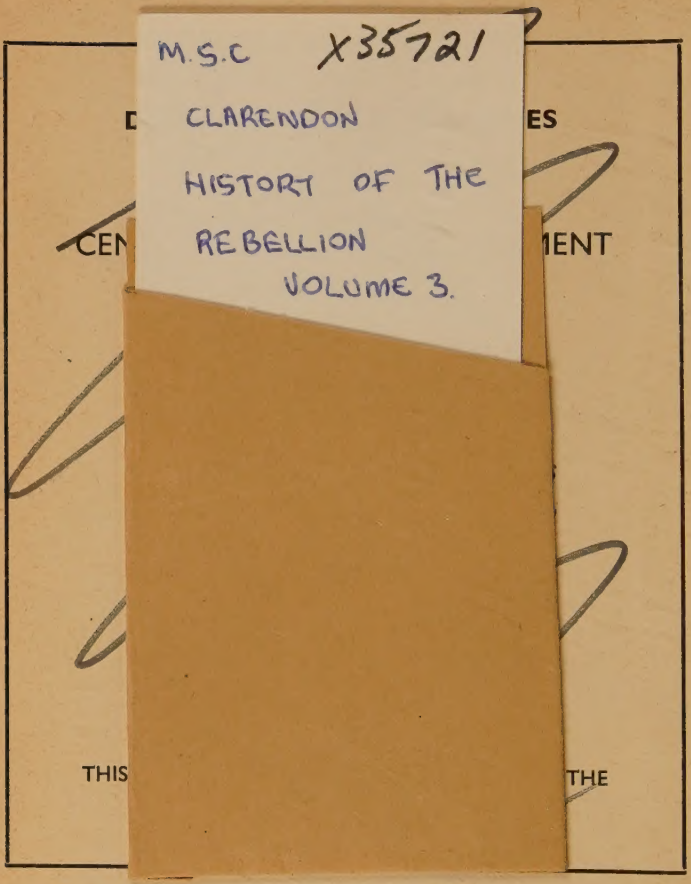
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AND

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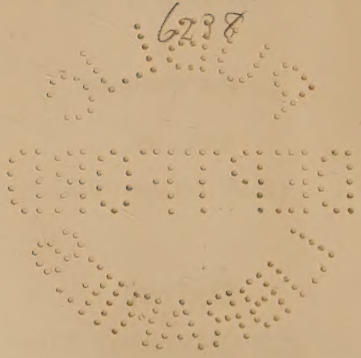

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A TRUE HISTORICAL NARRATION OF THE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND.

BOOK VII[1].

1. When the treaty was first consented to by the two Houses, they ordered that it should be upon the first proposition made by his majesty and the first proposition made by themselves, and that those should be first concluded on before they proceeded to treat upon any of the other propositions. So that the committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his majesty upon his own first proposition, which was, 1643 Feb. 28. Feb. 3.

2. 'That his own revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships, which had been taken or kept from him by force, should be forthwith restored to him.'

3. To which the committee answered, March 26.

'That the two Houses had made use of his majesty's own revenue but in a very small proportion, which in a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his children, according to the allowance established by himself. And the Houses would satisfy what should remain due to his majesty of those sums which they had received, and would leave the same to him for the time to come. And they desired likewise, that his majesty would restore what had been taken for his use upon any of the bills assigned to other purposes by several Acts of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the war of Ireland. That all the arms and ammunition taken out of his magazines should be delivered into his stores, and whatsoever should be wanting they would supply in kind, according to the proportions they had received: but they proposed, the persons to whose charge those public magazines should be committed, being nominated by his majesty, might be such as the two Houses of Parliament might confide in, and that his majesty would restore all such arms and ammunition as had been taken for his use from the several counties, cities, and towns.

4. 'That the two Houses would remove the garrisons out of all towns and forts in their hands wherein there were no garrisons before these troubles, and slight all fortifications made since that time, and those towns March 27.

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 427. Dated, 'Jarsy, Cast. Elizab., 18 8ber, 1647.']

1643 and forts to continue in the same condition they were in before; and that those garrisons should not be renewed, or the fortifications repaired, without consent of his majesty and both Houses of Parliament. That the towns and forts which were within the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports should be delivered into the hands of such a noble person as the King should appoint to be Warden of the Cinque Ports, being such a one as they should confide in. That Portsmouth should be reduced to the number of the garrison as was at that time when the Lords and Commons undertook the custody of it; and that all other forts, castles, and towns, in which garrisons had been kept, and had been since the beginning of these troubles taken into their care and custody, should be reduced to the same establishments they had in the year 1636, and should be so continued; and that all those towns, forts, and castles should be delivered up into the hands of such persons of quality and trust, to be likewise nominated by his majesty, as the two Houses should confide in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all governors and commanders of towns, castles, and forts, should keep the same towns, castles, and forts, respectively, for the service of his majesty and the safety of the kingdom; and that they should not admit into them any foreign forces, or any other forces raised without his majesty's authority and consent of the two Houses of Parliament; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all forces whatsoever raised without such authority and consent; and they should seize all arms and ammunition provided for any such forces.

5. 'They likewise proposed to the King, that he would remove the garrison out of Newcastle, and all other towns, castles, and forts, where any garrisons had been placed by him since these troubles; and that the fortifications might be likewise slighted, and the towns and forts left in such state as they were in the year 1636; and that all other towns and castles in his hands, wherein there had been formerly garrisons, might be committed to such persons nominated by him as the Houses should confide in, and under such instructions as were formerly mentioned; and that the new garrisons should not be renewed, or the fortifications repaired, without the consent of the King and both Houses of Parliament. That the ships should be delivered into the charge of such a noble person as the King should nominate to be Lord High Admiral of England and the two Houses confide in; who should receive that office by letters patents, *quam diu se bene gesserit*, and should have power to nominate and appoint all subordinate commanders and officers, and have all other powers appertaining to the office of High Admiral; which ships he should employ for the defence of the kingdom against all foreign forces whatsoever, and for the safeguard of merchants, securing of trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; and should use his utmost endeavour to suppress all forces which should be raised by any person without his majesty's authority and consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and should seize all arms and ammunition provided for supply of any such forces.'

6. To this answer, by which they required at least to go whole
March 26. sharers with him in his sovereignty, the King replied, that

'He knew not what proportion of his revenue had been made use of by his two Houses, but he had reason to believe, if much of it had not been used, very much remained still in their hands; his whole revenue being so stopped and seized on by the order of one or both Houses, even to the taking away of his money out of his Exchequer and Mint, and bonds (forced from his cofferer's clerk) for the provisions of his household, that very little had come to his use for his own support; but he would be well contented to allow whatsoever had been employed in the maintenance of his children, and to receive the arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his own for the future. He was likewise willing to restore all monies taken for his use, by any authority for[1] him, upon any bills assigned to other purposes, being assured he had received very little or nothing that way: and he expected likewise, that satisfaction should be made by them for all those several vast sums received, and diverted to other purposes, which ought to have been paid by the Act of Pacification to his subjects of Scotland, or employed for the discharge of the debts of the kingdom, or, by other Acts of Parliament, for the relief of his poor Protestant subjects in Ireland. For what concerned his magazines, he was content that all the arms and ammunition taken out of his magazines, which did remain in the hands of both Houses, or of persons employed by them, should be, as soon as the treaty was concluded, delivered into the Tower of London[2]; and that whatsoever should be wanting of the proportions taken by them should be supplied by them, with all convenient speed, in kind; which,' he said, 'should be committed to, and continued in, the custody of the sworn officers to whose places the same belonged: and if any of those officers had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit, that trust by any misdemeanours, his majesty would by no means defend them from the justice of the law. That he always intended to restore such arms and ammunition which he had been compelled to take from any persons and places when his own had been taken from him, and would make them recompense as soon as his own stores were restored to him.' **1643**

7. To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting all fortifications, and reducing all garrisons, which had been made since the beginning of the troubles, and leaving them in the state they were before, the King fully and absolutely consented; and that the old castles and garrisons should be reduced to their ancient proportion and establishment: but for the governors and commanders of them, he said, that March 28.

'The Cinque Ports were already in the custody of a noble person[3] against whom he knew no just exceptions, and who had such a legal interest therein that he could not with justice remove him from it until some sufficient cause were made appear to him: but he was very willing, if he

[1] ['from,' *Lords' Journals*, V. 688.]

[2] ['into such of his stores as his majesty shall appoint,' *ib.* 689. The Tower was specified in a subsequent message of March 29.]

[3] [The duke of Richmond.]

1643 should at any time be found guilty of any thing that might make him unworthy of that trust, that he might be proceeded against according to the rules of justice. That the government of the town of Portsmouth, and all other forts, castles, and towns, as were formerly kept by garrisons, should be put into the hands of such persons against whom no just exceptions could be made; all of them being before these troubles by letters patents granted to several persons against any of whom he knew not any exceptions, who should be removed if just cause should be given for the same. The Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all other governors and commanders of the towns and castles, should keep their charges as by the law they ought to do, and for the King's service and safety of the kingdom; and they should not admit into any of them foreign forces, or other forces raised and brought into them contrary to the law, but should use their utmost endeavours to suppress such forces, and should seize all arms and ammunition which by the laws and statutes of the kingdom they ought to seize.'

March 28. 8. To that part which concerned the ships, the King told them, that

'He expected his own ships should be delivered to him, as by the law they ought to be; and that when he should think fit to nominate a Lord High Admiral of England, it should be such a person against whom no just exception could be made; and if any should be, he would always leave him to his due trial and examination; and he would grant his office to him by such letters patents as had been used. In the mean time he would govern the Admiralty by commission, as had been in all times accustomed; and whatever ships should be set out by him, or his authority, should be employed for the defence of the kingdom against all foreign forces whatsoever, for the safeguard of merchants, securing of trade, guarding of Ireland, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all forces which should be raised by any person whatsoever, against the laws and statutes of the kingdom, and to seize all arms and ammunition provided for the supply of any such forces.'

9. It is evident to all men where the difference now lay between them, being, whether the King would reserve the disposal of those offices and places of trust to himself which all kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his regality, or whether he would be content with such a nomination, as, being to pass and depend upon their approbation, no man should ever be admitted to them who was nominated by him.

March 29. 10. The committee, upon his answer, desired to know,

'if he did intend that both Houses should express their confidence of the persons to whose trust those places were to be committed; for that they were directed by their instructions, that, if his majesty was pleased to assent thereunto, and to nominate persons of quality to receive the charge of them, that they should certify both Houses of Parliament, that thereupon they might express their confidence in those persons, or humbly desire his

majesty to name others; none of which persons to be removed during three years next ensuing, without just cause to be approved by both Houses; and if any should be so removed, or die within that space, the persons to be put in their places to be such as the two Houses should confide in.' 1643

The King answered, that April 5.

'He did not intend that the Houses should express their confidence of the persons to whose trusts those places should be committed, but only that they should have liberty upon any just exceptions to proceed against any such persons according to law; his majesty being resolved not to protect them against the public justice. When any of the places should be void, he well knew the nomination and free election of those who should succeed to be a right belonging to, and inherent in, his majesty; and having been enjoyed by all his royal progenitors, he could not believe his well affected subjects desired to limit him in that right;' and desired they would be satisfied with this answer, or give him any reasons to alter his resolution, and he would comply with them. April 14.

11. They told him, April 14.

'There could be no good and firm peace hoped for if there were not a cure found out for their fears and jealousies; and they knew none sure but this which they had proposed.'

The King replied, April 15.

'That he rather expected reasons grounded upon law, to have shewed him that by the law he had not that right he pretended, or that they had a right superior to his, in what was now in question, or that they would have shewed him some legal reason why the persons trusted by him were incapable of such a trust, than that they would only have insisted upon *fears and jealousies*, of which as he knew no ground, so he must be ignorant of the cure. That the argument they used might extend to the depriving him of, or at least sharing with him in, all his just regal power; since power, as well as forces, might be the object of fears and jealousies, and there would be always a power left to hurt whilst there was any left to protect and defend.' He told them, 'If he had as much inclination, as he had more right, to fears and jealousies, he might with more reason have insisted upon an addition of power, as a security to enable him to keep his forts when he had them, since it appeared it was not so great but that they had been able to take them from him, than they to make any difficulty to restore them to him in the same case they were before. But,' he said, 'as he was himself content with, so, he took God to witness, his greatest desire was to observe always and maintain, the law of the land; and expected the same from his subjects; and believed the mutual observance of that rule, and neither of them to fear what the law feared not, to be, on both parts, a better cure for that dangerous disease of fears and jealousies, and a better means to establish a happy and perpetual peace, than for him to divest himself of those trusts which the law of the land had settled in the Crown alone, to preserve the power and dignity of the prince, for the better protection of the subject and of the law, and to avoid those dangerous distractions which the interest of any sharers with him would have infallibly produced.'

1643 12. The committee neither offered to answer his majesty's reasons, or to oppose other reasons to weigh against them, but

April 10. only said that

'They were commanded by their instructions to insist upon the desires of both Houses formerly expressed.'

April 5. To which the King made no other answer than that

'He conceived it all the justice in the world for him to insist that what was by law his own, and had been contrary to law taken from him, should be fully restored to him, without conditioning to impose any new limitation[s] upon him or his ministers which were not formerly required from them by the law; and he thought it most unreasonable to be pressed to diminish his own just rights himself because others had violated and usurped them.

This was the sum of what passed in the treaty upon that proposition.

13. To the first proposition of the two Houses,

'That his majesty would be pleased to disband his armies, as they likewise would be ready to disband all their forces which they had raised, and that he would be pleased to return to his Parliament;'

March 28. the King answered,

'That he was as ready and willing that all armies should be disbanded as any person whatsoever; and conceived the best way to it would be a happy and a speedy conclusion of the present treaty, which, if both Houses would contribute as much as he would do to it, would be suddenly effected. And as he desired nothing more than to be with his two Houses, so he would repair thither as soon as he could possibly do it with his honour and safety.'

March 29. 14. The committee asked him

'If by *a happy and speedy conclusion of the present treaty* he intended a conclusion upon the two first propositions, or a conclusion of the treaty in all the propositions of both parts?'

The King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding the armies till all the propositions were

April 5. agreed, some whereof would require much time, answered,

'That he intended such a conclusion of or in the treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to himself and his subjects of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance or growth of those bloody dissensions; which, he doubted not, might be obtained, if both Houses would consent that the treaty should proceed without farther interruption, or limitation of days.'

April 6. They asked him,

'What he intended should be a clear evidence to him and his good subjects of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance and growth of those bloody dissensions?'

His majesty told them, 1643

'If the conclusion of the present treaty upon his first proposition and the first proposition of both Houses should be so full and perfectly made, that the law of the land might have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his majesty, and of themselves, and the rest of his subjects, there would be thence a clear evidence to him and all men of a future peace; and it would be such a conclusion as he intended, never meaning that both armies should remain undisbanded until the propositions on both sides were fully concluded.' April 7.

To the other clause of their own proposition concerning the King's return to the Parliament, they said, 'they had no instructions to treat upon it,' which the King much wondered at; and finding that they had no other authority to treat or debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding, and that the forces in the north, where he had a great army and they had none, might be first disbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to some propositions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued that heartily, which would conclude a general peace. And it seemed very strange that, after so many discourses of the King's absence from the Houses, from whence they had taught the people to believe that most of the present evils flowed and proceeded, when a treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first proposition, that their committee should have no instructions or authority to treat upon it. In the end, they received new instructions, 'to declare to his majesty the desire of both Houses for his coming to his Parliament; 'which,' they said, 'they had often expressed with full offers of security to his royal person, agreeable to their duty and allegiance, and they knew no cause why he might not repair thither with honour and safety.' When the King found he could not engage them in that argument to make any particular overture or invitation to him, and that the committee, who expressed willingness enough, had not in truth the least power to promote or contribute to an accommodation; lest they should make the people believe that he had a desire to continue the war, because he consented not to their proposition of disbanding the armies, he sent this message by an express of April 6. April 10.

1643 Apr. 12. his own to the two Houses, after he had first communicated it to their committee :—

15. '*Oxford, April* 12*th*, 1643.

'To shew to the whole world how earnestly his majesty longs for peace, and that no success shall make him desire the continuance of his army to any other end, or for any longer time, than that, and until, things may be so settled, as that the law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence and preservation of the rights of his majesty, both Houses, and his good subjects:

16. 1. 'As soon as his majesty is satisfied in his first proposition concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and forts, in which he desires nothing but that the just, known legal rights of his majesty, (devolved to him from his progenitors,) and of the persons trusted by him, which have violently been taken from both, be restored unto him and unto them, unless any just and legal exceptions against any of the persons trusted by him (which are yet unknown to his majesty) can be made appear to him:

17. 2. 'As soon as all the members of both Houses shall be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting in Parliament as they had upon the first of January 1641; the same, of right, belonging unto them by their birthrights and the free election of those that sent them, and having been voted from them for adhering to his majesty in these distractions; his majesty not intending that this should extend either to the bishops, whose votes have been taken away by bill, or to such in whose places upon new writs new elections have been made:

18. 3. 'As soon as his majesty and both Houses may be secured from such tumultuous assemblies as, to the great breach of the privileges and the high dishonour of Parliaments, have formerly assembled about both Houses, and awed the members of the same, and occasioned two several complaints from the Lords' House, and two several desires of that House to the House of Commons, to join in a declaration against them; the complying with which desire might have prevented all these miserable distractions which have ensued; which security, his majesty conceives, can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament to some other place at the least twenty miles from London, the choice of which his majesty leaves to both Houses:

19. 'His majesty will most cheerfully and readily consent that both armies be immediately disbanded, and give a present meeting to both his Houses of Parliament at the time and place at and to which the Parliament shall be agreed to be adjourned: his majesty being most confident that the law will then recover the due credit and estimation; and that upon a free debate, in a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, such provisions will be made against seditious preaching and printing against his majesty and the established laws, which hath been one of the chief causes of the present distractions, and such care will be taken concerning the legal and known rights of his majesty, and the property and liberty of his subjects, that whatsoever hath been published, or done, in or by colour of any illegal declaration, ordinance, or order of one or both Houses, or any committee

of either of them, and particularly the power to raise arms without his majesty's consent, will be in such manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against, that no seed will remain for the like to spring out of for the future, to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and to endanger the very being of it. And in such a convention his majesty is resolved, by his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to him, by bill, for the real good of his subjects, (and particularly for the better discovery and speedier conviction of recusants, for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant religion, for the prevention of practices of Papists against the State, and the due execution of the laws and true levying of the penalties against them,) to make known to all the world, how causeless those fears and jealousies have been which have been raised against him, and by that so distracted this miserable kingdom. And if this offer of his majesty be not consented to, (in which he asks nothing for which there is not apparent justice on his side, and in which he defers many things highly concerning both himself and people, till a full and peaceable convention of Parliament, which in justice he might now require,) his majesty is confident that it will then appear to all the world, not only who is most desirous of peace, and whose fault it is that both armies are not now disbanded, but who have been the true and first cause that this peace was ever interrupted or these armies raised; and the beginning or continuance of the war, and the destruction and desolation of this poor kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not, by the most interessed, passionate, or prejudicate person, be imputed to his majesty.' 1643

20. To this message they returned no answer to the King, but required the committee to return to Westminster (having been in Oxford with his majesty just twenty days) with such positive circumstances, that the House of Commons enjoined their members to begin their journey the same day; which they obeyed, though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient accommodations; and at their return, were looked upon with great jealousy, as persons engaged by the King and disinclined to the Parliament; and this jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. Martin opened a letter from the earl of Northumberland to his wife, presuming he should therein have discovered some combination; and this insolence was not disliked. April 14. April 15.

21. Many were of opinion that the King was too severe in this treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by right and law; and that if he would have distributed offices and places liberally to particular men, which had been a condescension in policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own power; and I have heard this alleged

1643 by many who at that time were extremely violent against all such artifices. The committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power and superiority of the earl of Essex) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation as all good men desired, and to believe that if the King would have condescended so far as to nominate the earl of Northumberland to be Lord High Admiral, that it would have made so great a division in the Houses, that the treaty would have been continued, and his majesty been satisfied in all the other propositions. And the earl of Northumberland to private friends did make as full professions of future service to his majesty, and as ample recognitions of past errors and mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary nature, before he could be sure what reception such professions and vows would find. But the King thought the power and interest of that committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved to have at least a probable assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions as, taking no effect, might prove prejudicial to him: as, the nominating the earl of Northumberland to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an honourable peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unseasonable easiness, (from which imputation it concerned the King at that time as much to purge himself as of unmercifulness and revenge,) upon promises and hopes to have readmitted a man to a charge and trust he had so fatally betrayed and broken, against more solemn promises and obligations than he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the King to be sure of some advantage in lieu of this visible hazard.

22. I am one of those who do believe that this obligation at this time laid upon the earl of Northumberland, with such other circumstances of kindness as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude and faithfulness in him, (for

as originally he had, I am persuaded, no evil purposes against the King, so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their ways when he had not their ends,) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two Houses, (which could not but have produced some benefit to the King,) and that it might probably have procured some few days' addition for the continuance of the treaty, (the avowed ground of denying it being, because the King had not in the least degree consented to any one thing proposed by them :) but I confess I cannot entertain any imagination that it would have produced a peace, or given the King any advantage or benefit in the war: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For,—besides that the stirring and active party, who carried on the war, were neither gracious to the earl of Northumberland, nor he to them, their favourite at sea being then the earl of Warwick, who had the possession of the fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be trusted with the navy—whoever calls to mind what was done in the Houses during the time of the treaty and by their directions; that by their own authority they directed all the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters to be sequestered, and inhibited the tenants to pay any rent to them; that under pretence of searching for arms, and taking away superstitious pictures, they caused the Queen's chapel at Somerset House (where she was to exercise her devotions, if they ever meant she should return again to London) to be most licentiously rifled, in which license with impunity her lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture and goods of value taken away and embezzled; that there was an order made in the House of Commons, when they sent their messengers every day to Oxford without any formality or control, 'that whatsoever person should come from Oxford or any part of the King's army to London, or the parts adjacent, without the warrant of both Houses of Parliament, or of the lord general the earl of Essex, he should be apprehended as a spy and intelligencer, and be proceeded against according to the rules and grounds of war:' by virtue of which order of the House of Commons only, and without any communication that

1643 March 27. March 30. April 10.

1643 notice might be taken of it, a servant of the King's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be
§ 51. remembered in its place; all which (except the execution of that man) was transacted during the time of the treaty at Oxford:—

23[1]. Whosoever remembers the other propositions upon which the treaty was founded, and the bills then presented to the King for his royal assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen propositions which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, and the whole frame of the government of the Church; and another bill for the calling an Assembly of Divines, nominated by themselves, (which was a presumption as contrary to the policy and government of the kingdom as the most extravagant act they had done,) and consisting of persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable acts that had been done; and yet his majesty was required to promise to pass such other bills for settling Church-government as upon consultation with that Assembly of Divines should be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament: that all the other bills then presented to the King for his royal assent, and insisted on by their fourth proposition, though they had specious and popular titles, contained many clauses in them contrary to common equity and the right of the subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known justice of the kingdom, and therefore, besides the time and circumstances of the passing those Acts, (when the nation was in blood,) not like to meet with his majesty's approbation; I say, whosoever remembers and considers all this, (to say nothing of the limitations by which their committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the resolutions of the two Houses, and to receive the King's answer, which might as effectually [have] been done by any one single ordinary messenger,) cannot, I conceive, believe

[1] [Clarendon himself makes a break here in the middle of the paragraph, and marks the commencement of a new section in his MS.]

that the King's consenting to make any one person amongst them High Admiral of England would have been a means to have restored the kingdom to a present peace, and the King to his just authority and rights. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition improbable, that which follows next in order of story will abundantly confute it. 1643

24. On Saturday the 15th of April, which was the very day on which the treaty expired at Oxford, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an addition, the earl of Essex marched with his whole army from Windsor and sat down before Reading; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the King should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther contentions. The earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand foot and above three thousand horse, in as good an equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a siege, as could be expected from an enemy which knew no wants, and had the command of the Tower of London and all other stores of the kingdom. In the town was above three thousand foot, and a regiment of horse consisting of near three hundred; the fortifications were very mean to endure a formed siege, being made only to secure a winter quarter, and never intended for a standing garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a council of war at Oxford that before the end of April, (before which time it was conceived the enemy would not adventure to take the field,) sir Arthur Aston should slight those works, and draw off his garrison to the King. And that which made it less able to bear a siege than the weakness of their works, was their want of ammunition; for they had not forty barrels of powder; which would not have held a brisk and a daring enemy four hours. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a supply; for the King had no port to friend, by which he could bring ammunition to Oxford, April 15.

1643 neither had he been yet able to set up any manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the battle of Edgehill, which was the remainder of the four hundred barrels brought by the ship called the Providence before the setting up of his standard, had served for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several garrisons, and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that magazine now at Reading (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, Oxford only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred barrels of powder, and in no one place match proportionable to that little powder. And this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness and straitness of the King's condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent and supply it.

25. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the town looked upon the enemy with courage and contempt enough; and, to say the truth, both officers and soldiers were as good as in the infancy of a war could be expected; and they had no apprehension of want of victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The soldiers without were for the most part newly levied, and few of their officers acquainted with the way and order of assaulting towns; and this was the first siege that happened in England. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full view of the ground, their general advised with his council of war in what manner he should proceed, whether by assault or approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. 'The works were weak; the number of the assailants sufficient; all materials in readiness; the soldiers in the town full of apprehensions, and a very considerable party of the inhabitants disaffected to the garrison, who in the time of a storm would be able to beget a great distraction. That they might be able to storm it in so many places at once, that the number of the soldiers within would not be able to defend all; and if they prevailed in any one, their whole body of horse might enter, and be immediately masters of the town: if they prevailed this way, their army would have that reputation,

and carry that terror with it, that no power of the King would 1643
hereafter be able to abide it, but they might march over the kingdom, and subdue every part of it: whereas if they delayed their work, and proceeded by way of approach, those in the town would recover heart, and, after they had digested the present fears and apprehensions, contemn their danger; and their own soldiers, who were yet fresh and vigorous, would every day abate in courage, and their numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by sickness and duty as they should probably do by an assault.' On the other hand it was objected, that 'the army consisted most of new levies,' (and in truth there were not of all that gallant army that was at Edgehill, among the foot, three thousand men,) 'who would be hardly brought to begin upon so desperate service; that it was the only army the Parliament had, upon which all their hopes and welfare depended; and if in the spring it should receive an eminent foil, they would not recover their courage again all the summer. That they were not only to look upon the taking of Reading, but, pursuing that in a reasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture and condition to end the war by a battle with all the King's forces, which would no doubt apply themselves to their relief; and no place under heaven could be so commodious for them to try their fortune in as that. Whereas if they should hastily engage themselves upon an onslaught[1], and receive a repulse, and should be afterwards forced to rise to fight with the King, they should never make their men stand; and then their cause was lost.' For the danger of sickness amongst the soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardness, [it was urged] 'that though it were earlier in the year than the armies usually marched into the field, yet they had much better accommodation and provision than armies use to have;' their horse (to whom that time of the year is commonly most formidable, through the want of forage) being plentifully provided for with hay and oats by the benefit of the river, and all supplies being sent for the foot out of London.

26. And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities

[1] ['onslatt,' MS.]

1643 (besides the provisions made in a very regular way by the commissioners) of excellent victual ready dressed were every day sent in waggons and carts from London to the army, upon the voluntary contributions from private families, according to their affections to the good work in hand; the common people being persuaded that the taking of Reading would destroy all the King's hopes of an army, and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these arguments and debates, (in which all the reasons were considered on both sides,) the major part of the council inclined, and with that the general complied, to pursue the business by approach. It was reported that the officers of horse in the council were all for a storm, and the foot officers for approaching. The chief care and oversight of the approaches was committed to Philip Skippon, a man often mentioned in the first part of this history, who had been an old officer, and of good experience in the Low Countries, and was now made sergeant-major-general of the army by the absolute power of the two Houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the earl of Essex; though sir John Merrick, who had executed that place by his choice from the beginning, was preferred to be general of the ordnance.

27. The approaches advanced very fast, the ground being in all places as fit for that work as could be, and the town lying so low that they had many batteries from whence they shot their cannon into the town and upon their line at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that service than will be believed, and but one man of note, lieutenant colonel D'Ews, a young man of notable courage and vivacity, who had his leg shot off by a cannon bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the town there were frequent sallies, with good success, and very many soldiers and some officers of the enemy were killed, more hurt; who were sent to hospitals near London; and those that were sent to London, (as many cart-loads were,) were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the citizens might take no notice of it. The stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great

industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that 1643
there were very many soldiers killed and hurt before Reading; and it was a mark of malignity to believe those reports[1]; so unfit the people were to be trusted with all truths.

28. Within a week after the beginning of the siege, sir Arthur Aston, the governor, being in a court of guard near the line which was nearest to the enemy's approaches, a cannon shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the governor in the head, and made that impression upon him that his senses shortly failed him, so that he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own person, but incompetent for counsel or direction; so that the chief command was devolved to colonel Richard Feilding, who was the eldest colonel of the garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his army an officer of greater reputation, and of whom the enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at Oxford, a party from thence under the command of Mr. Wilmott, the lieutenant-general of the horse, without any signal opposition put in a supply of powder and a Apr. 18.
regiment of five hundred foot into the town, but received advertisement from thence of the governor's hurt, and that they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at Oxford.

29. The nimble and successful marches of sir William Waller, whom we left triumphing in Wales after his strange surprise of the lord Harbert's forces near Gloster, caused the King to send prince Morrice with a strong party of horse and dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at Hynam; and to make the shame of those officers the less, with the spirit of victory doubled upon him, he came before Hereford, a town very well affected,

[1] [See *Commons' Journals*, III. 54, under date of April 21.]

1643 and reasonably well fortified, having a strong stone wall about it, and some cannon, and there being in it some soldiers of good reputation, and many gentlemen of honour and quality, and three or four hundred soldiers, besides the inhabitants well armed; yet, without the loss of one man on either side, to the admiration of all who then heard it or have ever since heard of
April 25. it, he persuaded them fairly to give up the town, and yield themselves prisoners upon quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to Bristol.

May 29. 30. From thence he marched to Worcester, where his conquests met some stop; for though the town was not so strong, nor the garrison so great, (I mean of soldiers; for the inhabitants were more,) as Hereford, nor one officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy war, the inhabitants had the courage to resolve not to admit any summons or messenger from him; and when his drum, against all signs made to him from the walls not to approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his message, they shot at him and killed him; and when sir William Waller himself, to revenge that affront, marched with his whole body towards them, (there being only an old gate, without bridge or work before it, to hinder his entrance into the town,) they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some officers and about twenty common men; after which, his men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the Severn again, and, with quick night marches, so avoided prince Morrice, (who took no less pains to meet with him,) that with some few light skirmishes, in which he received small loss, he carried his party safe, and full of reputation, through Gloster to the earl of Essex's army before Reading; himself being sent for to London, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

31. The great want at Oxford (if any one particular might deserve that style where all necessary things were wanted) was ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the north; yet the passage from thence [was] so dangerous that a party little inferior in strength to an army was necessary to convey

it; for though the earl of Newcastle at that time was master of the field in Yorkshire, yet the enemy was much superior in all the counties between that county and Oxford, and had planted many garrisons so near all the roads that the most private messengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the Queen to Oxford, if her majesty were ready for that journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of powder, prince Rupert resolved in person to march towards the north; and about the beginning of April (the treaty being then at Oxford, and hope that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the earl of Essex would not have taken the field till May) his highness, with a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons and six or seven hundred foot, marched towards Litchfield; which if he could reduce, and settle there a garrison for the King, lay most convenient for that northern communication, and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the enemy, which contributed much to the interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through Bromigeham [Birmingham], a town in Warwickshire before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected disloyalty to the King, as any place in England. It is before remembered[1] that the King in his march from Shrewsbury, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that people, had shewed as eminent compassion to them, not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing license of the soldier, or by the severity of his own justice; which clemency of his found so unequal a return, that the next day after his remove thence the inhabitants of that place seized on his carriages, wherein were his own plate and furniture, and conveyed them to Warwick castle, and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the King's service; and though it was never made a garrison by direction of the Parliament, being built in such a form as was indeed hardly capable of being fortified, yet they had so great a desire to 1643

[1] [Book vi, § 83.]

1643 distinguish themselves from the King's good subjects that they cast up little slight works at both ends of the town, and barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the King's forces.

April 3. 32. In this posture prince Rupert now found them, having in the town with them at that time a troop of horse belonging to the garrison of Litchfield, which was grown to that strength that it infested those parts exceedingly, and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful jurisdiction. His highness, hardly believing it possible that when they should discover his power they would offer to make resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more important design, sent his quarter-masters thither to take up his lodging, and to assure them that if they behaved themselves peaceably they should not suffer for what was past: but they had not consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him quarter in the town; and from their little works, with mettle equal to their malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the town being fired, they were not able to contend with both enemies, and, distracted between both, suffered the assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their transgressions with paying a less mulct than might have been expected from their wealth if their wickedness had been less.

33. In the entrance of this town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose troop of horse that was in it, the earl of Denbigh (who from the beginning of the war, with unwearied pains and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a volunteer in prince Rupert's troop, and been engaged with singular courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the head and body with swords and pole-

April 8. axes; of which within two or three days he died [1]. And but for which accident, (and to remember the dismal inequality of

[1] ['—having been overthrown in his coach by a careless coachman, his wounds brake out again so sorely that he died shortly after.' *Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 192.]

this contention, in which always some earl, or person of great honour or fortune, fell, when, after the most signal victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a man of any known family, or of other reputation than of passion for the cause in which he fell,) I should not have wasted so much paper in mentioning an action of so little moment as was this of Bromigeham: which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a clergyman, who was here killed at the entering of the town, after he had not only refused quarter but provoked the soldier by the most odious revilings and reproaches of the person and honour of the King that can be imagined, and renouncing all allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several papers of memorials of his own obscene and scurrilous behaviour with several women, in such loose expressions as modest ears cannot endure; and this man was the principal governor and incendiary of the rude people of that ill place against their sovereign[1]. So full a qualification was a heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour. 1643

34. From Bromigeham, the prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to Litchfield, and easily possessed himself of the town, which lay open to all comers; but the Close (which contained the cathedral church and all the clergy houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The wall, about which there was a broad and deep moat, was so thick and strong that no battery the prince could raise would make any impression; the governor, one colonel Rouswell, very resolute; and the garrison of such men as were most transported with superstition to the cause in which they were engaged, and in numbers equal to the ground they were to keep; their provisions ample, for a longer time than it was fit the prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by treaty,

[1] [His name was Whitehall, and he is described in *A true relation of the cruelties exercised by the cavaliers at Birmingham* as having been confined in Bedlam for many years as a lunatic, and as being mistaken by the royalists for the minister of the parish, one Roberts.]

1643 he would not have engaged before it; for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in horse; his foot and dragoons being an inconsiderable force for such an attempt. But whether the difficulties were not throughly discerned and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great that it was worth an equal hazard and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and to that purpose drew what addition of force he could out of the country, to strengthen his handful of foot; and persuaded many officers and volunteers of the horse to alight, and bear their parts in the duty, with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days he had drawn the moat dry, and prepared two bridges for the graff. The besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant and bold men, and killed and wounded many of the besiegers, and disappointed and spoiled one mine they had prepared. In the end, early in the morning, the prince having prepared all things in readiness for the assault, he sprung another mine, which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible courage and resolution, and killed and hurt very many; whereof some, officers of prime quality, whereof the lord Digby, colonel Gerard, colonel Wagstaffe, and major Legg, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within, (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent, not suffering many to enter together, and no horse being able to get over,) that, after they had killed colonel Usher and some other good officers, and taken others prisoners, (for both colonel Wagstaffe and
April 21. William Legg were in their hands,) they compelled the prince to consent to very honourable conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a gainer by the bargain. And so the garrison marched out with fair respect, and a princely testimony of having made a courageous defence; his highness being very glad of his conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his troops, and robbed him of many officers and soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day

before or the day after this action, prince Rupert received a positive order from the King to make all possible haste, with all the strength he had and all he could draw together from those parts, to the relief of Reading: which was in the danger we but now left it. Upon which his highness, committing the government of Litchfield to colonel Baggott, a son of a good and powerful family in that county, and appointing his troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few servants came to Oxford to attend the King, whom he found gone towards Reading. 1643

35. The importunity from that garrison for relief was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their preservation, that the King found it would not bear the necessary delay of prince Rupert's returning with his forces; and therefore his majesty in person, with those horse and foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in Oxford or in any other garrison, advanced towards Reading; hoping (and that was the utmost of his hope) that he might with the assistance of the garrison be able to force one quarter, and so draw out his men, and, by the advantage of those rivers which divided the enemy and the passes, to be able to retire to Oxford; for, being joined, he would not have near one half of the enemy's army. When he drew near the town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves, relief, he was encountered by a party of the enemy, which defended their post, and being quickly seconded by supplies of horse and foot from all their quarters, after a very sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's party, commanded by the earl of Forth himself, the general, consisting of near one thousand musketeers, was forced to retire to their body; which they did the sooner, because those of the town made no semblance of endeavouring to join with them; which was that they principally relied upon. The reason of that was, the garrison, not seeing their relief coming, sent for a parley to the enemy, which was agreed to, with a truce for so many hours, upon which hostages were delivered, and a treaty begun, when the King came to relieve it. Upon the view of April 24. April 25.

1643 the enemy's strength and intrenchment, all were of opinion that the small forces of the King would not be able to raise the siege, or to join with those in the town; and in this melancholic conclusion his majesty retired for the present, resolving to make any other reasonable attempt the next day. In the mean time, some soldiers found means to escape out of the town, and colonel Feilding himself in the night came to the King, and told him the state they were in, and that they were in treaty, and he believed might have very good conditions, and liberty to march away with all their arms and baggage; which was so welcome news, that the King bade him, (prince Rupert being then present,) that if he could procure such conditions he should accept them: for indeed the men and the arms were all that the King desired, and the loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him. The King continued still at Nettlebedd, a village seven or eight miles[1] distant from Reading, to attend the success of the treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not, to try the utmost again for their redemption; but all men heartily praying for liberty to march off upon the treaty. The next day these

April 27. articles were agreed on:

36. 1. 'That the governor, commanders, and soldiers, both horse and foot, might march out with flying colours, arms, and four pieces of ordnance, ammunition, bag and baggage, light match, bullet in mouth, drums beating, and trumpets sounding.

2. 'That they might have free passage to his majesty's city of Oxford, without interruption of any of the forces under the command of his excellency the earl of Essex; provided the said governor, commanders, and soldiers use no hostility until they come to Oxford.

3. 'That what persons were accidentally come to the town, and shut up by the siege, might have liberty to pass without interruption; such persons only excepted as had run away from the army under the command of the earl of Essex.

4. 'That they should have fifty carriages for baggage, sick, and hurt men.

5. 'That the inhabitants of the town of Reading should not be prejudiced in their estates or persons, either by plundering or imprisonment; and that they who would leave the town might have free leave and passage safely to go to what place they would, with their goods, within the space of six weeks after the surrender of the town.

6. 'That the garrison should quit the town by twelve of the clock the next morning; and that the earl of Essex should provide a guard for the security of the garrison soldiers when they began to march.'

[1] [About twelve miles.]

37. Upon these articles, signed by the earl of Essex, the 1643
town was delivered on the 27th day of April, (being within a fortnight after the siege began,) and the garrison marched to the King, who stayed for them, and with him to Oxford. But at their coming out of the town, and passing through the enemy's guards, the soldiers were not only reviled and reproachfully used, but many of them disarmed, and most of the waggons plundered, in the presence of the earl of Essex himself and the chief officers, who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of their common men being so great. And as this breach of the articles was very notorious and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the war; insomuch as the King's soldiers afterwards, when it was their part to be precise in the observations of agreements, mutinously remembered the violation at Reading, and thereupon exercised the same license; and from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, that requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after violated.

38[1]. There had been, in the secret committee for the carrying on the war, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate, with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their army to besiege Oxford, where the King and the Court was, rather than Reading; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. Hambden, and all they who desired still to strike at the root, very earnestly insisted upon, without doubt they had put the King's affairs into great confusion. For, besides that the town was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison well provided for, the Court, and multitude of nobility and ladies and gentry with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarum very ill. But others, who did not yet think their army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to loyalty and reverence towards the person of the King, had no mind it should besiege the very place where the

[1] [This section is taken from the *Life*, p. 223.]

1643 King himself was; and the earl of Essex himself, who was yet the soul of the army, had no mind to that enterprise: and so the army marched, as hath been said, directly to Reading, with the success that is mentioned[1].

39. Though, at the instant, the Parliament was highly pleased with the getting the town, and the King as well contented when he saw his entire garrison safely joined to the rest of his army, (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the King's quarters, upon the assurance that they had recovered full four thousand good men, whom they had given for lost,) yet, according to the vicissitude in war when accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly unsatisfied with its success. The King was no sooner returned to Oxford but upon conference between the officers and soldiers there grew a whisper that there had not been fair carriage, and that Reading had been betrayed, and from thence made a noise through Oxford; and the very next day, and at the same time, colonel Feilding,

[1] [The last six words are interlined, and the following passage is here struck out in the MS.—'where sir Arthur Aston (a man of a much greater reputation in war than he deserved) was governor, with three thousand good foot and a regiment of horse; and if that body of foot (which should have been drawn out within less than a month, which was as soon as it was imagined that the enemy would take the field) had been cut off, the King would have been deprived of the best part of his infantry; which was well enough known to the enemy, and was the principal cause of their engagement. The works were rather a trench cast up to secure a winter quarter than any fortification to endure a siege, the purpose having been always to throw in all the works in the spring, and to leave the town open, his majesty having not men enough to supply garrisons, and retaining still the old unhappy opinion that another action in the field would determine the contest. However, the earl of Essex, thinking it to be stronger than it was, or willing that others should think it so, quartered his army round about it, to keep it from supply, and disposed all things for a formal siege. The several transactions within and without the town during that siege; the hurt of the governor, whether real or pretended; the treaty about the surrender, and the King's endeavour to relieve it during that treaty and after it was begun, and the garrison's refusing to draw out because of the treaty; the surrender of the town thereupon, and the secure march of the garrison to Oxford; the disorders and jealousies which happened there about that surrender; the earl of Essex his march towards Oxford, and drawing up his whole army in sight thereof, and the consternation there, and his making his headquarter at Thame, are all fitter subjects for the history of that time than for this narration,' (*namely, the author's Life*).]

upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the King to desire 1643
that an account might be taken of the whole business at a council of war, for his vindication, and the common soldiers, in a disorderly manner, to require justice against him for betraying and delivering up the town to the rebels; which they avowed with so much confidence, with the mention of some particulars, as, having frequent intercourse with the earl of Essex, and hindering and forbidding the soldiers to issue out of the town to join with the King when he came to relieve them, albeit their officers had drawn them up to that purpose and were ready to lead them, and the like, with some rash and passionate words disrespective to his majesty; [so] that he gave present order for his commitment and trial at a court of war; the King himself being marvellously incensed against him for that clause in the third article, which gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the town and shut up by the siege to pass without interruption, [whereby] there was an exception of such persons who had run away from the earl of Essex his army; and by virtue of that exception some soldiers of that kind were taken after the rendering of the town, and were executed. And though the colonel excused himself as being no more concerned to answer for the articles than every member of the council of war by which they were agreed, yet it was alleged that the council of war had been induced to consent to those articles upon the colonel's averment that the King had seen them and approved of them; whereas his majesty had never seen any articles in writing, but only consented that they should march away with their arms and baggage, if the enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted than he was with that clause, which he called no less than giving up those poor men, who, out of their conscience of their rebellion, had betaken themselves to his protection, to be massacred and murdered by the rebels whom they had deserted; and, for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately pub- May 12.
lished a proclamation in which he took notice of that clause, and declared to all the world,

40. 'That he was not privy to, or in the least degree consenting to, that

1643 exception, but held the same most prejudicial to his service, and derogatory from his honour; and that he would always choose to run any hazard or danger the violence or treason of his enemies could threaten, or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw or deny his protection to any who, being convinced in their conscience of their disloyalty, should return to their duty, and betake themselves to his service. And as he had referred to a court of war the full examination of all the particular proceedings in the delivery of that town, that so justice might be done accordingly, so he did declare that he would always proceed with all severity against such as should by the like dishonourable conditions expose his subjects, and bereave them of his protection that had returned to their obedience to him.'

41. At the trial, it was objected against the colonel, that the town might have been longer defended, there being want of no necessary provision, and as much powder at the giving it up as there was when the enemy came first before it; for, besides the first supply, sixteen barrels [were[1]] put in during the skirmish when the King came to relieve it: that several colonels pressed very earnestly to sally when the King's forces were engaged, and that they were expressly hindered and forbidden by him: that he frequently gave his pass to a woman to go out of the town, who went into the earl of Essex's army and returned again: that he persuaded the council of war to consent to the articles by protesting that the King had well approved them, and reproached those officers who were of another opinion; with some other particulars of license and passion, which reflected more upon his discretion than his honesty or conduct.

42. He justified himself to have done nothing towards the delivery of the place but upon full consideration, advice, and approbation of the council of war: that he was in his own conscience and judgment satisfied that the substance of the articles were advantageous for his majesty's service; and though it was true, by that last supply of ammunition, their store was near as much as when the siege began, yet it was in all but thirty-two barrels, which would have lasted but few hours if the enemy, who had approached within little more than pistol-shot of some parts of their works, should attack them in that manner as they had reason to expect; and if they

[1] ['was,' MS.]

had held out longer, when it had appeared that the King was 1643
not strong enough to relieve them they should not have been admitted to such conditions: and therefore that he believed a hazard of so great a concernment was not to be run, when he well knew his majesty's former resolution of slighting the garrison, and that it would not be now done above a fortnight sooner than was intended. That he had no knowledge of his majesty's approach till the forces were engaged, when a truce was concluded and their hostages in the enemy's hands; and therefore, that he conceived it against the law of arms to make any attempt from the town; and before they could sufficiently deliberate it in council, his [majesty's] forces retired. That the woman to whom he gave a pass was one he often employed as a spy with very good effect, and he did believe the advantage he received by it was greater than she could carry to the enemy by any information she could give. That he did persuade the council of war to consent to the conditions, because he believed them very profitable to his majesty, and he averred only his majesty's approbation of the general substance of the articles, never applied it to the clause of the third article, which he much desired to have altered, but could not obtain the consent of the enemy. If he had been intemperate or passionate to any who were of another opinion, or had used any passionate expressions in the debate, it proceeded only from his zeal to the service, and his apprehension of the loss of so many good men, upon whom he well knew the King much depended. That he might have committed many indiscretions, for which he desired pardon, but had not failed in point of fidelity. That, by the unfortunate hurt of the governor, the command was devolved upon him by his right of seniority, not any ambitious desire of his own: that he had from time to time acquainted sir Arthur Aston with the state and condition they were in, and though his indisposition of health was such that he would not give positive orders, he seemed to approve of all that was done; and though for the former reason he refused to sign the articles, yet they were read to him, and he expressed no dislike of them. The truth of it is, sir Arthur Aston was believed by many not to be

1643 in so incompetent a condition to command as he pretended; and that albeit his head was so much swoln that he might not in person venture upon any execution, yet that his understanding or senses were not much distempered or discomposed, and that he only positively waived meddling out of dislike of the condition they were in. And it is true that when he came to Oxford he could speak as reasonably of any matter as ever I knew him before or after.

43. Notwithstanding all the defence the colonel could make for himself, and that there was not indeed any colour of proof that he had acted any thing treacherously, he was, upon an article of not obeying orders, (for in this agitation he had received some such which he had not precisely observed,) sen-
May 5. tenced to lose his head; which judgment, after long and great intercession, was in the end remitted by the King, but his regiment disposed to another, and he never restored to that command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished reputation for honesty and courage, and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the troubles, and been hurt in the service, and he appeared afterwards as a volunteer with the same courage in the most perilous actions, and obtained a principal command in another of the King's armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this imputation. And yet I must profess for my part, being no stranger to what was then alleged and proved on either party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonably to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-game of reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.

44. The inconveniences and mischieves that resulted to the King from this accident were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the factions in Court, army, and city (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great animosities grew between the officers of the army, some being thought to have been too passionate and solicitous in the prosecution of the colonel, and

too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of common soldiers in demanding [justice on] their officer; for from such a kind of clamour it began. Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to shew their power, that a person they favoured should not suffer. And of both these, some were more violent than they should have been; which several inclinations equally possessed the Court, some believing that he was really guilty of treachery, though not so clearly proved, and therefore that, being within the mercy of the law upon another article, no mercy ought to be shewed to him; others as really supposing him innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point as few officers of the army did not know themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigour and uncharitableness, and they again accusing the other of too much lenity and indulgence; whilst many gentlemen of honour and quality, whose fortunes were embarked with the King, grew extremely jealous that the Parliament had corrupted some of the King's officers with rewards, and that others had power to protect them from punishment and discovery; and the soldier[s] again as much incensed, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon casual and accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them. 1643

45. But these indispositions and distempers were the effects of the exigents of that time, (I wish the humours had [been] impaired when the times mended,) and very many who saw the King's condition very low in an instant, and believed the rebels to be most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason than the loss of Reading; though they had all still but the town, which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain that the King himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the earl of Essex his advance towards Oxford within four or five days after the loss of Reading, he once resolved, (and that by the advice of the chief officers of his army,) to march away towards the north, to join with the earl of Newcastle. And if the earl of Essex had at that time but made any show of moving with his whole body

1643 that way, I do verily persuade myself Oxford itself and all the other garrisons of those parts had been quitted to them. But those fears were quickly composed by an assurance of the earl's stay at Reading, and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the siege: whereupon the King resolved to abide him, and give him battle about Oxford, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his foot upon the down about a mile from Abbington, which was the head quarter for his horse.

46[1]. When the season of the year grew ripe for taking the

[1] [§§ 46–8 are from the *Life*, pp. 224–6. The *Hist.* (p. 438) continues as follows:—

'The earl of Essex had as little joy of his conquests; the city murmured, and thought they were betrayed; they expected the reducing of Reading by taking or destroying the garrison that was in it, which they were assured comprised above one half of the King's army, so, that being defeated, the war would be at an end: whereas by giving them leave to march to the King with their arms they had enabled him to fight a battle with them, which he could not otherwise have done: all that vast expense of money about the siege had been to no purpose, and had only recovered a town which would have been left to them within one fortnight without any loss of men or money. They were now very angry that he had not marched to Oxford when he first sat down before Reading, which if he had taken, (as with the same expense he might have done,) Reading must have yielded without a blow: and indeed there had been consultation at Windsor, before the expedition began, whether they should besiege Oxford or Reading first; and the earl himself inclined to Oxford, but was advised to the other, for the conveniency of being supplied with provisions from London, and out of an apprehension that if the whole army should go before Oxford, and leave so strong a garrison as Reading behind them, they might not only be much infested from thence in their siege, but more frequent alarums would come from that place to the Houses and the city than they would well bear: which without doubt was as great an oversight as any they committed; for if they had at that time, with that full army they were then masters of, marched to Oxford, prince Rupert being, as is before remembered, at Litchfield, they had found the place every way worse provided for a siege than Reading, the fortifications being very slight and unfinished, and no public magazines of victual in store; so that, though it may be the King himself might with his horse have escaped before they could have environed the town, the place, having a very thin garrison of soldiers, and a great company of lords and ladies and persons of quality not easy to be governed and commanded, could not probably have long held out, and then Reading mus have been at their devotion; and in the mean time they had horse enough belonging to the city and their garrison at Windsor to secure them from those excursions. But that which troubled

field, the earl of Essex found that his too early march had nothing 1643
advanced his affairs; the soldiers having performed so strict duty, and lodging upon the ground in frost and rain before Reading, had produced great sickness and diseases in his army, which had wasted abundance of his men; so that he wanted rather another winter quarter to recover and recruit his men, than an opportunity to engage them in action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the Parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him. New divisions and animosities arose there to perplex their counsels; their triumph upon the taking of Reading, which they had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the city believe that all those benefits would attend it which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the King had all his forces and army entire, and had only lost a town that he never meant to keep, and which they knew not what to do with, and was now ready to come into the field, when theirs was destitute of health and all those accommodations which must enable them to march: and their general every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful orders they had sent him, by which, against all the advice and arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

47. The absurd and uncivil breaking off of the treaty with the King was urged by their commissioners, who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the King's gracious disposition and the temper of the Council in Oxford to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of jealousies which had been entertained of their integrity; and the earl of Northumberland, having discovered that Harry Martin had opened a letter which he had writ from Oxford to his wife, to know what was included in it, took him aside, after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the April 18.

the earl of Essex more than these discourses was the ill condition his army was in; they had contracted in this short siege so great a sickness, and such an indisposition to action, and so many were killed and run away, that he was in no posture to pursue his advantage; so that after all those mountains of promises,' &c. *as in* § 48, *line* 12.]

1643 two Houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude answers in justification of it, the earl cudgelled him in that presence, upon which many swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

48. These and the like instances of distraction and confusion brought the reputation of that party low, and made it looked upon as like to destroy itself without an enemy; whilst the King's party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their spirits, of which they received frequent evidence, by the news of some of their quarters being beat up, and many of their men being lost, by the unexpected incursions of the King's horse; whereof some parties, by night marches and unusual lanes, went often near London, and took many prisoners, who thought themselves secure in their houses and in journeys they made, and who were put to ransom themselves with good sums of money. So[1] that, after all those mountains of promises and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the city more importuned for money, and the Parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the King's army, and bringing the King back to his
March 7. Parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a line about the city of London and Westminster, and to fortify it, lest the King's forces might break in upon them; which made them suspect the state of their affairs to be worse than in truth it was. And so far were they yet from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the House of Commons raged more furiously than ever, and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of
June 5, 15. the charge of the war, they proposed settling and imposing an excise upon such commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of slavery, and as never feared by themselves; and for the exercise of their sovereign power, they
June 13. resolved it fit to make a new Great Seal, to be always resident with the Houses. But the Lords were not yet arrived at

[1] [The text is here taken up again from the *History*, p. 439.]

that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either [1]. 1643

49. Whilst both armies lay quiet, the one about Reading, the other about Abbington and Oxford, without attempting one upon the other, or any action save some small enterprises by parties, in which the King got advantage; (as the young earl of Northampton fortunately encountered a party of horse and foot from Northampton, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon Banbury, and, having routed their horse, killed above two hundred of their foot, and took as many more prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the young earl that day sacrificing to the memory of his father,) the King received from the earl of Newcastle, by a strong party of horse, a good and ample supply of ammunition; the want whereof all men looked upon with great horror. As soon as this was arrived, and the King heard that his armies both in the north and west began to flourish, and thought himself well provided to encounter the earl of Essex if he desired it, his majesty resolved once more to try whether the two Houses would incline to a reasonable peace; and to that purpose sent a message to them by an express servant of his own, in these words: May 6. May 19.

50. 'Since his majesty's message of the 12th of April (in which he conceived he had made such an overture for the immediate disbanding of all armies, and composure of these miserable and present distractions, by a full and free convention of Parliament, that a perfect and settled peace would have ensued) hath in all this time, above a full month, procured no answer from both Houses, his majesty might well believe himself absolved, both before God and man, from the least possible charge of not having used his uttermost endeavours for peace; yet, when he considers that the scene of all this calamity is in the bowels of his own kingdom, that all the blood which is spilt is of his own subjects, and that what victory soever it shall please God to give him must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against him; when he considers that these desperate civil dissensions may encourage and invite a foreign enemy, to make a prey of the whole nation; that Ireland is in present danger to be totally lost; that the heavy judgments of God, plague, pestilence, and famine, will be the inevitable

[1] [The Lords refused on June 14 to concur in the vote for making a Great Seal, but on Oct. 12 they agreed to another vote of July 5. They did not actually refuse consent to the ordinance for the excise, but after several conferences with the Commons, agreed on Sept. 8 to a new ordinance proposed by the Commons on Sept. 6.]

1643 attendants of this unnatural contention; and that in a short time there will be so general a habit of uncharitableness and cruelty contracted through the whole kingdom, that even peace itself will not restore his people to their old temper and security; his majesty cannot but again call for an answer to that his gracious message, which gives so fair a rise to end these unnatural distractions. And his majesty doth this with the more earnestness, because he doubts not the condition of his armies in several parts, the strength of horse, foot, artillery, his plenty of ammunition, (when some men lately might conceive he wanted,) is so well known and understood, that it must be confessed nothing but the tenderness and love to his people, and those Christian impressions which always [have[1]] and he hopes alway shall dwell in his heart, could move him once more to hazard a refusal. And he requires them, as they will answer to God, to himself, and all the world, that they will no longer suffer their fellow-subjects to welter in each other's blood; that they would remember by whose authority, and to what end, they met in that council, and send such an answer to his majesty as may open a door to let in a firm peace and security to the whole kingdom. If his majesty shall again be disappointed of his intentions therein, the blood, rapine, and destruction, which may follow in England and Ireland, will be cast upon the account of those who are deaf to the [motion[2]] of peace and accommodation.'

May 22. 51. This message was received by the House of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect and duty, and the messenger very civilly entreated by them: but when they communicated it with the House of Commons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an address to the King suitable to his gracious invitation, that House was so far from concurring with them that they gave immediate order (which was executed accordingly) for the apprehension and commitment of the gentleman who brought the message[3], and declared that they would proceed against him at a council of war; upon 22. the order formerly mentioned, made by them when the treaty was at Oxford, that any person coming from Oxford without their general's pass, or one from the Houses, should be punished as a spy; to which order as the Peers never consented, so the King had never, till this commitment, notice of it, and themselves, after the making it, had sent several messengers to the King without any formality of pass or trumpet.

52. The Lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to dissuade this course, but they could not prevail, the House

[1] [*Lords' Journals*, VI. 57; 'live,' MS.]
[2] [*Ib.*; 'motive,' MS.]
[3] [Alexander Hampden.]

of Commons finding that the very imagination that a peace might be concluded infinitely retarded their carrying on the war, and made not only those who were yet free not easy to be drawn in, but many who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; and therefore they resolved to proceed with that vigour and resolution, that no reasonable man should believe it possible for the King to gain a peace but by subduing them, which seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose, instead of returning any answer to the King's message, within three days after the receiving it they impeached the Queen of high treason, for assisting the King her husband with arms and ammunition, and in the prosecution of the war against them; an attempt as unheard of amongst all the acts of their predecessors, and as unimagined, as any thing they had yet ventured upon. Their clergy sounded their trumpets louder to war than ever, if it was possible; and that Assembly of Divines, to which they had at the treaty urged the King's consent, they resolved should now meet by an ordinance of their own, with an addition of some members of either House to that number.

1643. May 23. May 13.

53. There had been some months before a design of prince Rupert upon the city of Bristol, by correspondence with some of the chief inhabitants of the city, who were weary of the tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been so unskilfully or unhappily carried, that, when the prince was near the town, with such a party of horse and foot as he made choice of, it was discovered, and many principal citizens apprehended by Nathaniel Fynes, son to the lord Say, and then governor of that city for the Parliament. At this time special direction and order was sent thither that he should with all severity and expedition proceed against those conspirators, (as they called them;) and thereupon, by a sentence and judgment of a council of war, alderman Yeomans, who had been high shrief of the city, and of great reputation in it, and George Bourchier, another citizen of principal account, were (against all interposition his majesty could make) both hanged: and all other imaginary acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to peace but by the sword.

March 7. March 14. May 30.

1643 54. There fell out now an accident at London which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the war; a discovery of a plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful animosity against the King, and a covenant and union among themselves and throughout the city, a prejudice to all moderate men who promoted an accommodation, and a brand upon all overtures of accommodation and peace as stratagems upon the city and the Parliament. Of this plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it that men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture, to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did not think so, that I knew as much of it as most men.

55. There was of the House of Commons one Mr. Waller, a gentleman of a very good fortune and estate, and of admirable parts and faculties of wit and eloquence, and of an intimate conversation and familiarity with those who had that reputation. He had from the beginning of the Parliament been looked upon by all men as a person of very entire affections to the King's service, and to the established government of Church and State, and by having no manner of relation to the Court had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the King and the two Houses that very many of the members withdrew from those councils, he, amongst the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some persons now of nearness about the King, with the King's approbation he returned again to London, where he spake upon all occasions with great sharpness and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being overvoted) was not restrained, and therefore used as an argument against those who were gone upon pretence that they were not suffered to declare their opinions freely in the House; which could not be believed when

all men knew what liberty Mr. Waller took, and spake every 1643
day with impunity against the sense and proceedings of the House. This won him a great reputation with all people who wished well to the King, and he was looked upon as the boldest champion the Crown had in both Houses; so that such Lords and Commons who really desired to prevent the ruin of the kingdom willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his reputation at Court so good, that he would be no ill evidence there for other men's zeal and affection; and so all men spake their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions and ambition of particular persons: all men knowing him to be of too good a fortune, and too wary a nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

56. Mr. Waller had a brother-in-law, one Mr. Tomkins, who had married his sister, and was clerk of the Queen's council, of very good fame for honesty and ability. This gentleman had good interest and reputation in the city, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wished to live under the same government they were born; and from those citizens received information of the temper of the people upon accidents in the public affairs. And Mr. Waller and he, with that confidence that uses to be between brethren of the same good affections, frequently imparted their observations and opinions to each other; the one relating how many in both Houses inclined to peace, and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial men of London; and both of them again communicated what he received from the other to the company he used to converse with; Mr. Waller imparting the wishes and power of the well affected party in the city to the lords and gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind, and Mr. Tomkins acquainting those he durst trust of the city that such and such lords and gentlemen who were of special note were weary of the distractions, and would heartily and confidently contribute to such an honourable

1643 and honest peace as all men knew would be most acceptable to the King. And from hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that, if some means were found out to raise a confidence in those who wished well that they should not be oppressed by the extravagant power of the desperate party, but that they would so far assist one another as to declare their opinions to be the same, they should be able to prevent or suppress those tumults which seemed to countenance the distractions, and the Houses would be induced to terms of moderation.

57. In this time the lord Conway, being returned from Ireland, incensed against the Scots, and discontented with the Parliament here, finding Mr. Waller in good esteem with the earl of Northumberland, and of great friendship with the earl of Portland, he entered into the same familiarity; and, being more of a soldier, in the discourses administered questions and considerations necessary to be understood by men that either meant to use force or to resist it, and wished that they who had interest and acquaintance in the city would endeavour by a mutual correspondence to inform themselves of the distinct affections of their neighbours, that, upon any exigent, men might foresee whom they might trust; and these discourses being again derived by Mr. Waller to Mr. Tomkins, he, upon occasion and conference with his companions, insisted on the same arguments; and they again, conversing with their friends and acquaintance, (for of all this business there were not above three who ever spake together,) agreed that some well affected persons in every parish and ward about London should make a list of all the inhabitants, and thereupon to make a reasonable guess of their several affections, (which at that time was no hard thing for observing men to do,) and thence a computation of the strength and power of that party which was notoriously violent against any accommodation.

58. I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular men might intend or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a combination amongst the party well affected, that they would refuse to conform to those ordin-

ances of the twentieth part, and other taxes, for the support of 1643
the war; and thereby, or by joint petitioning for peace and discountenancing the other who petitioned against it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the war. And it may be some men might think of making advantage of any casual commotion, or preventing any mischieve by it; and thereupon that inquiry where the magazines lay, and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather mentioned than proposed. For it is certain very many who were conscious to themselves of loyal purposes to the King, and of hearty dislike of the Parliament's proceedings, and observed the violent, revengeful, and ruinating prosecution of all men by those of the engaged party, were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some jealousy and quarrel picked, even a general massacre might be attempted of all the King's friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients as might in those seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any formed design, either of letting in the King's army into London, which was most impossible to be contrived, or of raising an army there and surprising the Parliament, or any one person of it, or of using any violence in or upon the city, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have published such a relation of it, after Mr. Waller had confessed to them all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding of it, and not [have] contented themselves with making conclusions from questions that had been asked, and answers made, by persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one to relate to actions of another between whom there had been never the least acquaintance or correspondence, and joining what was said at London to somewhat done at Oxford at another time and to another purpose: for, before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one plot.

59. From the King's coming to Oxford, many citizens of good quality, who were prosecuted or jealously looked upon in

1643 London, had resorted to the King, and hoping, if the winter produced not a peace, that the summer would carry the King before it with an army, they had entertained some discourse of raising, upon their own stocks of money and credit, some regiments of foot and horse, and joining with some gentlemen of Kent, who were likewise inclined to such an undertaking. Amongst these was sir Nicholas Crispe, a citizen of good wealth, great trade, and an active-spirited man, who had been lately
Jan. prosecuted with much severity by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled from London, for appearing too great a stickler in a petition for peace from the city[1]. This gentleman industriously preserved a correspondence still there, by which he gave the King often very useful intelligence, and assured him of a very considerable party which would appear there for him whenever his own power should be so near as to give them any countenance. In the end, whether invited by his correspondents there, or trusting his own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much, and concluding that all who were equally honest would be equally bold, he desired his majesty to grant a commission to such persons whom he would nominate of the city of London, under the Great Seal of England, in the nature of a commission of array, by virtue whereof, when the season should come, his party there would appear in discipline and order; and that this was desired by those who best knew what countenance and authority was requisite; and being trusted to them would not be executed at all, or [else] at such a time as his majesty should receive ample fruit by it; provided it were done with secrecy equal to the hazard they should run who were employed in it.

60. The King had no exception to it but the improbability that it could do good, and that was the less, because the failing could do no hurt but to the undertakers. The promoter was a very popular man in the city, where he had been a commander of the train-bands till the ordinance of the militia removed him, which rather improved than lessened his credit; he was very confident it would produce a notable advantage to the

[1] [See book vi, § 208.]

King: however, they desired it who were there, and would not 1643
appear without it; and therefore the King consented to it, referring the nomination of all persons to be named in the commission to him, who he verily believed had proceeded by the instruction and advice of those who were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it the King referred the preparing and despatch of the commission to sir Nicholas Crispe himself, who should acquaint no more with it than he found requisite. So, without the privity or advice of any one councillor or minister of state, he procured such a commission as he desired (being no other than the commission of array in English) to be signed by the King and sealed with the Great Seal. March 16.

61. This being done and remaining still in his custody, the lady Aubigny, (by a pass, and with the consent of the Houses,) came to Oxford to transact the affairs of her own fortune with the King upon the death of her husband, who was killed at Edgehill; and having in few days despatched her business there, and being ready to return, sir Nicholas Crispe came to the King, and besought him to desire that lady (who had a pass, and so could promise herself safety in her journey) to carry a small box (in which that commission should be) with her, and to keep it in her own custody until a gentleman should call to her ladyship for it by such a token: that token, he said, he would send to one of the persons trusted, who should keep it by him till the opportunity came in which it might be executed. The King accordingly wished the lady Aubigny to carry it with great care and secrecy, telling her it much concerned his majesty's service, and to deliver it in such manner and upon such assurance as is before mentioned: which she did, and, within few days after her return to London, delivered it to a person who was appointed to call for it. How this commission was discovered, I could never learn: for though Mr. Waller had the honour to be admitted often to that lady, and was believed by her to be a gentleman of most entire affections to the King's service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with what she knew, yet her ladyship herself, not knowing what it was she carried, could not inform any body else.

1643 62. But about this time a servant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often cursorily overheard his master and Mr. Waller discourse of the argument we are now upon, placed himself behind a hanging at a time they were together, and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information and discovery would make him welcome to those whom he thought concerned, and so went to Mr. Pimm, and acquainted him with all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time when Mr. Pimm was made acquainted with it is not known, but the circumstances of the publishing it were such as filled all men
May 31. with apprehensions. It was on Wednesday the 31st of May, their solemn fast-day, when being all at their sermon in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, according to their custom, a letter or message is brought privately to Mr. Pimm, who thereupon with some of the most active members rise from their seats, and after a little whispering together remove out of the church: this could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind: immediately they send guards to all the prisons, as Lambeth-house, Ely-house, and such places where their malignants were in custody, with directions to search the prisoners; and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the sermons were ended, the Houses met, and were only told that letters were intercepted going to the King and the Court at Oxford that expressed some notable conspiracy in hand, to deliver up the Parliament and the city into the hands of the cavaliers, and that the time for the execution of it drew very near. Hereupon a committee was appointed to examine all persons they thought fit, and to apprehend some nominated at that time. And the same night this committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins, and the next day such others as they thought fit.

63. Mr. Waller was so confounded with fear and apprehension that he confessed whatsoever he had said, heard, thought, or seen, all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others, without concealing any person, of what degree or quality soever, or any discourse that he had ever upon any

occasion entertained with them: what such and such ladies of great honour, to whom upon the credit of his great parts and very good reputation he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their chambers of the proceedings of the Houses, and how they had encouraged him to oppose them; what correspondence and intercourse they had with some ministers of state at Oxford, and how they derived all intelligence thither. He informed them that the earl of Portland and the lord Conway had been particular in all the agitations which had been with the citizens, and had given frequent advice and directions how they should demean themselves, and that the earl of Northumberland had expressed very good wishes to any attempt that might give a stop to the violent actions and proceedings of the Houses and produce a good understanding with the King. 1643

64. When the committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. Tomkins and such other as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that commission which is before discoursed [of], and gotten the very original into their hands, they kneaded both into one plot and conspiracy; and, acquainting the Houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared, (without naming any lords or other persons to be interessed in the design, save those only who were imprisoned, amongst whom the lady Aubigny was one; and without communicating any of the examinations, which they pretended were not to be common till the conspirators were brought to trial,) that the original of this conspiracy was from the late London petition for peace, which was spoken of about Christmas last, in the book precedent [1]; and that, under pretence of peace and moderation, a party was to be formed, which should be able to suppress all opponents, and to awe the Parliament: that to this purpose some of those who were the principal movers and fomenters of that petition did continue in the nature of a committee, still to carry on the design: that they held intelligence in both armies, Court, and Parliament; took a general survey of the numbers and affections June 6.

[1] [Book vi, § 208.]

1643 of the several inhabitants throughout the wards and parishes of the city, and places adjacent, and distinguished all under the titles of men affected or averse to the King, or indifferent and neutral persons, carried only by the success and power of the prevailers: that they were well instructed in the number and inclinations of the train-bands of London, the places where the magazines were kept, where the commanders for the Parliament dwelt; had thought of places for rendezvous and retreat upon any occasion, and of colours and marks of distinction between the different parties.

65. That Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins were the principal persons employed and trusted to give advertisement to and correspond with the King's ministers at Oxford, and receive advertisements and command from thence, for the completing the work; that they two held constant intelligence and intercourse with the lord Falkland, then principal secretary to the King, and that from him they received the signification of the King's pleasure; and that those directions, counsels, and encouragements had been principally sent by those messengers which had been employed by his majesty to the Parliament under the pretence of peace, and especially by Mr. [Alexander] Hambden, who came with the last message, and was a cousin-german to Mr. Waller. That the lady Aubigny, (who had been lately at Oxford,) had brought thence a commission to them from the King, by force of arms to destroy, kill, and slay the forces raised by the Parliament, and their adherents, as traitors and rebels; and that they had lately sent a message to Oxford by one Hazell, a servant of the King's, to acquaint the lord Falkland that the design was come to good perfection; unto which answer was returned, that they should hasten it with all speed.

66. That the particulars of the design appeared to be: 1. To seize into their custody the King's children: 2. To seize several members of both Houses, the Lord Mayor, and committee of the militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal trial: 3. To seize upon the outworks, forts, Tower of London, magazines, gates, and other places of importance in the city: 4. To let in the King's forces to surprise the city,

and to destroy all those who should oppose them by authority of the Parliament: 5. By force of arms to resist all payments imposed by authority of Parliament, raised for the support of the armies employed for their just defence, &c.; to suspend, if not alter, the whole government of the city, and, with assistance of the King's force, to awe and master the Parliament. 1643

67. When both Houses were awakened and startled with this report, the first thing agreed on was a day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful delivery; which shut out any future doubts, and disquisitions whether there had been any such delivery, and, consequently, whether their plot was in truth, or had been, so framed. Then it was said that, as the design was the most desperate, so the carriage was the most subtle, and amongst persons of reputation and not suspected; and that there was reason to suspect many members of both Houses were privy to it; and therefore there ought to be all possible care taken to make the discovery perfect, and to unite themselves for the public defence, that if any part were left undiscovered it might not prove fatal to the commonwealth. This finding a full consent, it was propounded that a protestation might be drawn up, by which every member of the two Houses might purge himself from any guilt or privity in that conspiracy, and likewise oblige himself to resist and oppose any such combination. They who were under the character of moderate men, and usually advanced all motions of peace and accommodation, durst not oppose the expedient, lest they should be concluded guilty; most of them having had familiarity with Mr. Waller, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions, spoken with that freedom to him as might very well incur a severe interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the House of Commons June 6. a vow and covenant to be taken by the members of both Houses, and afterwards by the city and their army; for their jealousy was now spread over all their own quarters. Which covenant, for the rareness of it both in title and style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms; which were these:—

1643 68. *A sacred vow and covenant taken by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament upon the discovery of the late horrid and treacherous design for the destruction of this Parliament and the kingdom.*

'Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this kingdom, a Popish and traitorous plot for the subversion of the true Protestant reformed religion and the liberty of the subject; and in pursuance thereof a Popish army hath been raised, and is now on foot, in divers parts of this kingdom; and whereas there hath been a treacherous and horrid design, lately discovered by the great blessing and especial providence of God, of divers persons, to join themselves with the armies raised by the King, and to destroy the forces raised by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to surprise the cities of London and Westminster, with the suburbs, by arms to force the Parliament; and finding by constant experience that many ways of force and treachery are continually attempted, to bring to utter ruin and destruction the Parliament and kingdom, and that which is dearest, the true Protestant religion; and that, for the preventing and withstanding the same, it is fit that all who are true hearted and lovers of their country should bind themselves each to other in a sacred vow and covenant:

69. 'I *A. B.*, in humility, and reverence of the Divine Majesty, declare my [hearty[1]] sorrow for my own sins and the sins of this nation, which have deserved the calamities and judgments that now lie upon it; and my true intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own ways. And I do further, in the presence of Almighty God, declare, vow, and covenant, that, in order to the security and preservation of the true reformed Protestant religion and liberty of the subject, I will not consent to the laying down of arms, so long as the Papists now in open war against the Parliament shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof: and that I do abhor and detest the wicked and treacherous design lately discovered; and that I never gave nor will give my assent to the execution thereof, but will, according to my power and vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like nature. And in case any other like design shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And, whereas I do in my conscience believe that the forces raised by the two Houses of Parliament are raised and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true Protestant religion and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the King, that I will, according to my power and vocation, assist the forces raised and continued by both Houses of Parliament against the forces raised by the King without their consent: and will likewise assist all other persons that shall take this oath in what they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not, directly or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist, the forces raised by the King without the consent of both Houses [of Parliament[1]]. And this vow and covenant I make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform

[1] [Omitted in the MS.]

the same, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.' 1643

70. Though many[1] were much startled at this covenant, and took time to consider of it, there being in the preamble and positive part much which very few believed, and in the promissory part a more direct denouncing war against the King than had been in plain terms before avowed by them, and an absolute protestation against peace till the King were at their mercy; yet the fear of being concluded guilty of the plot made them swallow all the rest; and the example of one prevailing with many, there was not a member of either House that took it not: and being thus fettered and entangled themselves, they sent their committee into the city to acquaint them with their happy discovery, and how miraculously God had preserved them, and to engage them in the same sacred vow and covenant; which was readily submitted to, and, by the industry of their clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken throughout that people. Then it was with equal diligence and solemnity transmitted to the army, that their fears of inconvenience from thence might be likewise purged; and thence it grew the mark of distinction to know their friends and enemies by; and whosoever refused to take that covenant neede[d] no other charge to be concluded and prosecuted as the highest malignant.

71. Being this way secure from any future clamours for peace, they proceeded to try Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Challoner (a citizen of good wealth and credit, and most intimate with Tomkins), Mr. Hambden, who brought the last message from the King, one Hazell, a messenger of the King's, (who passed often between London and Oxford, and sometimes carried letters and messages to the lord Falkland), and some citizens whose names were in the commission sent from Oxford, by a council of war; by whom Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Challoner were condemned to be hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of severity and cruelty, executed, the one on a June 30. July 5[2].

[1] [seven; *Commons' Journals*, III. 118.]

[2] [July 4, *Merc. Aulicus*; July 5, Rushworth, and Dugdale's Diary, (in his *Life*, 1827,) p. 53; July 8, Heath's *Chronicles*.]

1643 gibbet by his own house in Holborn, where he had long lived with singular estimation, and the other by his house in Cornhill, near the Old Exchange. Hazell, the messenger, saved
[June 29?] them farther trouble, and died in prison the night before his trial: and there being no evidence against Mr. Hambden but what Mr. Waller himself gave, they gave no judgment against him, but kept him in prison long after, till he died: neither proceeded they capitally against those citizens whose names were in the commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent and privity; though the brand of being malignants served the turn for their undoing, for all their estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed.

72. And there is nothing clearer than that the commission sent from Oxford by the lady Aubigny had not any relation to the discourses passed between Mr. Waller, Tomkins, and those citizens, or that they who knew of one had not any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an insurrection as was alleged, Mr. Waller, or Mr. Tomkins, or some one of those lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the commission. Or if the King's ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a party which should suddenly seize upon the city and the Parliament, they would never have thought a commission granted to some gentlemen at Oxford, (for the major part of the commissioners were there,) and a few unknown private citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, (and I have very much reason for that confidence,) that there was no more known or thought of at Oxford concerning the matter of the commission than I have before set forth; nor of the other, than that Mr. Tomkins sometimes writ to the lord Falkland, (for Mr. Waller, out of the cautelousness of his own nature, never writ word,) and by messengers signified to him, that the number of those who desired peace, and abhorred the proceedings of the Houses, was very considerable, and that they resolved, by refusing to contribute to the war and to submit to their ordinances, to declare and

manifest themselves in that manner that the violent party in the city should not have credit enough to hinder an accommodation. And the lord Falkland always returned answer that they should expedite those expedients as soon as may be, for that delays made the war more difficult to be restrained. And if I could find evidence or reason to induce me to believe that there was any farther design in the thing itself, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it; no man imagining that if the King could have entertained any probable hope of reducing London, which was the fomenter, supporter, and indeed the life of the war, or could have found any expedient from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a war against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance and countenance thereunto, either by public force or private contrivance. 1643

73. There was very great endeavour used to have proceeded with equal severity against the earl of Portland and lord Conway, (for the accusation of the earl of Northumberland, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the violent party was heartily incensed against him, as a man weary of them, yet his reputation was still very great,) who were both close prisoners; and to that purpose their lordships and Mr. Waller were confronted before the committee; where they as peremptorily denying as he charging them, and there being no other witness but he against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till, after a long restraint, they procured enlargement upon bail. Mr. Waller himself, (though confessedly the most guilty, and by his unhappy demeanour in this time of his affliction he had raised as many enemies as he had formerly friends, and almost the same,) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of conscience, as his trial was put off, out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding, (and that was not till the heat and fury of the prosecutors was reasonably abated with the sacrifices they had made,) and, by drawing visitants to him of the most powerful ministers of all factions, had, by his liberality and July 1. July 31.

1643 penitence, his *preces* and his *lacrimæ*, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility and reverence as clearer convictions and informations than in his life he had [ever had], and [by distributing [1]] great sums to them for their prayers and ghostly counsel, so [2] satisfied them that they July 4. satisfied others; he was, at his suit, brought to the House of Commons' bar; where (being a man in truth very powerful in language, and who, by what he spoke and in the manner of speaking it, exceedingly captivated the good-will and benevolence of his hearers; which is the highest part of an orator) with such flattery as was most exactly calculated to that meridian, with such a submission as their vulgar pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind and spirit as was like to cozen the major part and be thought serious, he laid before them their own danger and concernment if they should suffer one of their own body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be tried by the soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power hereafter that they would both try those they would not be willing should be tried, and for things which they would account no crimes; the inconvenience and insupportable mischieve whereof all wise commonwealths had foreseen and prevented, by exempting their own members from all judgments but their own. And [3] he prevailed, not to be put off to a council of war, and thereby preserved his dear-bought life [4]; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the keeping his head to that oration as Catiline did the loss of his to those of Tully; and by having done ill very well, he by degrees drew that respect to his parts, which always carries 1644 some compassion to the person, that he got them to compound Sept. 23 [5]. for his transgression, and to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their affairs wanted) for his liberty; and so he had

[1] ['distributed,' MS.] [2] ['and so,' MS.]

[3] [The word 'and' has been erroneously struck out in the MS.]

[4] ['—being left to the council of war, he was condemned to dye. But had a reprieve from general Essex.' Rushworth, III. ii. 330.]

[5] [On this day the House of Commons acceded to a petition from him on the terms mentioned in the text, and his release was ordered by the Lords on Nov. 4, after payment of the fine.]

leave to recollect himself in another country (for his liberty was to be in banishment) how miserable he had made himself to have leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater evidence of the inestimable value of his parts, than that he lived after this in the good affection and esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach and scorn of none[1]. 1643

74. These high proceedings at London and in the Houses were not seconded with any notable success abroad; but it appeared plainly, by the slow coming in of moneys and more slow coming in of men, that the hearts of the people were generally more devoted to peace than to the continuance of those distractions; and the earl of Essex, by the great decay and sickness of his army[2], was not in near six weeks able to remove from Reading; by which many men concluded, (which could not be reasonably foreseen,) that if Reading had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raise his siege; and that was the reason the earl gave for granting so good conditions: for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew they must have yielded on worse terms, neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the city of London, he marched towards Oxford, but, in truth, rather to secure Buckinghamshire, which was now infested by the King's horse, than to disquiet that place. And to that purpose he fixed his head quarter at Thame, ten miles from Oxford, and upon the very edge of the other county[3].

[1] [For a short account from the *Life* of this plot, see note to § 85.]

[2] [This line is substituted in the MS. for the following :—'the earl of Essex found that he paid dear for the time he had gotten in the spring, that little lying in the field during the siege at Reading having so much weakened his army, and his soldiers having contracted by it so many diseases and such a general sickness, that very many of them died; and, with all the supplies of money and recruits of men he could get, he was not' &c.]

[3] [The *Life* is here resumed at p. 224, for §§ 75–9; while the MS. of the *Hist.* continues as follows :—

'At the same time when the earl of Essex began his march from Reading, colonel Hurry, a Scotchman, who had served in that army from the beginning with great reputation, (as he was an excellent commander of horse,) till the difference that is before spoken of between the English and Scotch officers, (after which he laid down his commission, though, out of

1643 75. In the beginning of the war, the army in Scotland having been lately disbanded, many officers of that nation who had

respect to the earl of Essex, he stayed some time after with him as a volunteer, and now,) came to the King to Oxford, having before given notice to the earl of Brainford that he meant to do so. He came no sooner thither, than, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he proposed to prince Rupert to wait on him to visit the enemy's quarters, and, being well acquainted with their manner of lying and keeping their guards, undertook to be his guide to a quarter where they were least expected: and the prince, willingly consenting to the proposition, drew out a strong party of one thousand horse and dragoons, which he commanded himself, and marched with colonel Hurry to a town four or five miles beyond the head quarter, where were a regiment of horse and a regiment of dragoons, and about daybreak fell upon them, and with little resistance, and no loss of his own men, he killed and took the whole party, except some few, who hid themselves in holes or escaped by dark and untrodden paths. From thence, in his way back, according to purpose, he fell upon another village, where some horse and a regiment of foot were quartered, where he had the same success, and killed and took and dispersed them all. So he having fortunately performed all he hoped, his highness hastened his retreat as fast as he could to Oxford, having appointed a regiment of foot to attend him at a pass in the way for his security. But the alarum had passed throughout all the enemy's quarters; so that before the prince could reach the pass where his foot expected him, he found the enemy's whole army was drawn out, and a strong party of their horse, almost equal to his own in number, so hard pressed him that, being then to enter a lane, they would disorder his rear before he could join with his foot, which were a mile before. He had very little time to deliberate, being even at the entrance into the lane. If he could have hoped to have retired in safety, he had no reason to venture to fight with a fresh party, excellently armed, and in number equal, his own being harassed and tired with near twenty miles' march, and loaden with spoil and prisoners, scarce a soldier without a led horse: but the necessity obliged him to stay; and after a short consideration of the manner of doing it, directing as small a convoy as was possible to guard the prisoners, and to hasten with all the unnecessary baggage and led horses, he resolved to keep the ground he had in the plain field, and after as short a pause, to charge the party that advanced, lest the body might come up to them. And they came on amain, leaving it only in his election, by meeting them to have the reputation of charging them, or by standing still to be charged by them. Hereupon they were quickly engaged in a sharp encounter, the best, fiercest, and longest maintained that hath been by the horse during the war; for the party of the Parliament consisted not of the bare regiments and troops which usually marched together, but of prime gentlemen and officers of all their regiments, horse and foot, who, being met at the head quarter, upon the alarum, and conceiving it easy to get between prince Rupert and Oxford, and not having their own charges ready to move, joined themselves as volunteers to those who were ready, till their own regiments should

served in Germany and in France betook themselves to the ser- 1643
vice of the Parliament, whereof many were men of good conduct and courage, though there were more as bad as the cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort colonel Hurry was a man of name and reputation, and an excellent officer of horse, and had commanded those horse at Edgehill under Balfore which had preserved their army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded as he thought he had deserved, (as it was no easy thing to value that people at the rate they did set upon themselves,) and being without any other affection for their service than their pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the earl of Brainford, the King's general, under whose command he had formerly served in Germany. Whilst the earl of Essex remained at Thame, and his army quartered thereabout, Hurry came to Oxford, in the equipage June 10.
that became a colonel of horse who had received good pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the King, to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to prince Rupert, acquainted him where the Parliament horse lay, and how loose they were in their quarters; and, to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desired to march, a volunteer, with a good party, to make an attempt upon the enemy; and the prince assigning a

come up; and so, the first ranks of horse consisting of such men, the conflict was maintained some time with equal confidence. In the end, many falling and being hurt on both sides, the prince prevailed, the rebels being totally routed, and pursued till the gross of the army was discovered; and then his highness, with the new prisoners he had taken, retired orderly to the pass where his foot and former purchase expected him; and thence sending colonel Hurry to acquaint the King with the success, who knighted the messenger for his good service, returned, with near 200 prisoners, and seven cornets of horse and four ensigns of foot, to Oxford. On the King's part in this action were lost, besides few common men, no officers of note, but some hurt: on the enemy's side, many of their best officers, more than in any battle they fought, and amongst them (which made the names of the rest less inquired after by the one and less lamented by the other) colonel Hambden, who was shot into the shoulder with a brace of pistol bullets, of which wound, with very sharp pain, he died within ten days, to as great a consternation of all that party as if their whole army had been defeated and cut off.']

1643 strong party for the service, he accompanied and conducted them out of the common road, till they came to a town where a regiment of the Parliament horse was quartered; and they beat up and killed or took most of the officers and soldiers, and then fell upon those other quarters by which they had passed before, with the like success; and so returned to Oxford with many prisoners, and with notable damage to the enemy.

76. And as soon as he returned, he made another proposition to the prince for the attacking the quarters near Thame, through which he had passed when he came to Oxford, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were; and assured the prince that, if he went about it time enough, before there should be an alteration in their quarters, which he believed the general would quickly make, the enterprise would be worthy of it. And the prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the
June 17. ports of Oxford in the evening upon Saturday, and marched beyond all the quarters as far as Wickham, and fell in there at the farther end of the town towards London, from whence they expected no enemy, and so kept no guards there. A regiment of horse and of foot were lodged there, which were cut off, or taken prisoners, and all the horses and a good booty brought away. And from thence they marched backward to another quarter[1], within less than two miles of the general's own quarter; where they lodged with the same security they had done at Wickham, not expecting any enemy that way; and so met with the same fate [the others[2]] had done; and were all killed or made prisoners. And having performed at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with prisoners and booty, and the sun being now rising, the prince thought it time to retire to Oxford, and so gave orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed till they came to a bridge which was yet two miles from them, where he had appointed a guard to attend to favour their retreat.

77. But the alarum had been brought to the earl of Essex

[1] [At Chinnor. The first quarter was at Postcombe. Urry's attack on West-Wycombe was on June 25, and is antedated in the preceding section.]

[2] ['they,' MS.]

from all the quarters, who quickly gathered those troops together which were nearest, and directed those to follow the prince, and to entertain him in skirmishes, till himself should come up with the foot and some other troops, which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the prince had almost passed a fair plain, or field, called Chalgrove field, from whence he was to enter in a lane which continued to the bridge, the enemy's horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the prince resolved to expect and stand them upon the open field, though his horse were all tired, and the sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the clock in the morning in [June][1]. And so he directed, that the guard of the prisoners should make what haste they could to the bridge, but that all the rest should return (for some were entered the lane); and so he placed himself and his troops as he thought fit in that field, to receive the enemy, which made more haste and with less order than they should have done; and being more in number than the prince, and consisting of many of the principal officers, who, having been present with the earl of Essex when the alarum came, stayed not for their own troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as they thought, of a flying enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat, and having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that night and morning, before the general could come up to have a share in the victory, though his troops were even in view. But the prince entertained them so roughly, that, though their fronts charged very bravely and obstinately, consisting of many of their best officers of which many of the chiefest falling, the rest shewed less vigour, and in a short time broke and fled, and were pursued till they came near the earl of Essex' body; which being at near a mile's distance, and making a stand to receive their flying troops, and to be informed of their disaster, the prince with his troops hastened his retreat, and passed the lane, and came safe to the

1643 June 18.

[1] ['May,' MS.]

1643 bridge before any of the earl's forces came up; which found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good guard of foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the hedges a good way in the lane. And so the prince about noon, or shortly after, entered Oxford, with near two hundred prisoners, and seven cornets of horse, and four ensigns of foot, with most of the men he carried from thence, some few excepted who had been killed in the action, whereof some [none? *p.* 55] were of name.

78. And the prince presented colonel Hurry to the King with a great testimony of the courage he had shewed in the action, as well as of his counsel and conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no man who had not been very conversant with the nature and humour of those he destroyed. Upon which, the June 18. King honoured him with knighthood and a regiment of horse as soon as it could be raised; and every body magnified and extolled him, as they usually do a man who hath good luck, and the more because he was a Scotchman, and professed repentance for having been in rebellion against the King. And he deserves this testimony and vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him as if he had broken his trust, and deserted the service of the Parliament, and betrayed them to the King, which is not true. He had owned and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress and justice in some particulars from the Parliament, in which the earl of Essex thought he had reason, and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the man was in his nature proud and imperious, and had raised many enemies, and was besides of license, and committed many disorders of that kind; and had little other virtue than being a very good officer in the field, and regular and vigilant in marching and in his quarters, which the Parliament thought other men would attain to who had fewer vices, and therefore granted nothing that he desired; upon which he declared he would serve them no longer, and delivered up his commission to the earl of Essex; and being then pressed to promise that he would not serve the King, he positively refused to give any such engage-

ment; and after he had stayed in London about a month after, 1643
and had received encouragement from some friends in Oxford, he came thither in the manner set down before.

79. The prince his success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the spirits at Oxford very much, and for some time allayed the jealousies and animosities which too often broke out in several factions to the disquiet of the King. It was visibly great in the number of the prisoners, whereof many were of condition; and the names of many officers were known who were left dead upon the field, as colonel Gunter, who was looked upon as the best officer of horse they had, and a man of known malice to the government of the Church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the troubles, and for which he had still meditated revenge. And one of the prisoners who had been taken in the action said that he was confident Mr. Hambden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, and with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse; by which he concluded he was hurt. But the news the next day made the victory much more important than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the enemy had sustained in their quarters, by which three or four regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many officers, of the best account, were known, who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt as there remained little hope of their recovery.

80[1]. Among the prisoners, there were taken colonel Sheffeild,

[1] [The *Hist.* is here resumed, at p. 446, the *Life* continuing thus :— '— of which Mr. Hambden was one; who would not stay that morning till his own regiment came up, but put himself a volunteer in the head of those troops who were upon their march, and was the principal cause of their precipitation, contrary to his natural temper, which, though full of courage, was usually very wary; but now, carried on by his fate, he would by no means expect the general's coming up; and he was of that universal authority that no officer paused in obeying him. And so in the first charge he received a pistol shot in his shoulder, which broke the bone and put him to great torture: and after he had endured it about three weeks, or less time, he died, to the most universal grief of the Parliament that they could have received from any accident: and it equally increased the joy for the success, at Oxford; and very reasonably,

1643 a younger son of the earl of Mulgrave, and one colonel Berkely, a Scotchman; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that, upon their paroles neither to endeavour or endure a rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private house in the way, within a mile of the field, till their wounds should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves prisoners at Oxford. But the King's forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their comrades, and were the next

for the loss of a man which would have been thought a full recompense for a considerable defeat, could not but be looked upon as a glorious crown of a victory.

Mr. Hambden hath been mentioned before as a very extraordinary person, and being now brought to his grave before he had finished any part of the great model which he had framed, and there being hereafter no occasion to enlarge upon him, it is pity to leave him here without some testimony. He was, as hath been said, of an ancient family, and a fair estate in the county of Buckingham, where he was esteemed very much, which his carriage and behaviour towards all men deserved very well. But there was scarce a gentleman in England, of so good a fortune, (for he was owner of above £1500 land yearly,) less known out of the county in which he lived than he was, until he appeared in the Exchequer chamber to support the right of the people in the case of ship-money, and, to avoid the payment of twenty shillings, which was required of him, engaged himself in a very great charge to make the illegality of it appear, against the King and the current of the Court at that time, when it seldom met with a barefaced opposition in any counsel they [thought] fit to undertake and pursue. Yet the King, who had reason to believe his title to be good, from the counsel that advised it, who was his attorney-general Noy, a man of the most famed knowledge in the law, gave the direction to have his right defended, without the least discountenance or reproach to the person who contended with him. This contradiction of the King's power made him presently the most generally known and the most universally esteemed throughout the whole nation that any private man at that time could be. In the beginning of the Parliament he was not without ambition to be of power in the Court, but not finding that satisfaction quickly, he changed it into another ambition of reigning over the Court, and was deepest in all the designs to destroy it, yet dissembled that design so well that he had too much credit with men most moderate and sober in all their purposes. *Erat illi consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manus deerat.* No man seemed to have more modesty and more humility, and more to resign himself to those he conferred with, but always led them into his resolutions. In a word, he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any mischieve, and his death appeared to be a great deliverance to the nation.']

day strong enough to suffer themselves to be removed to 1643
Thame, by a strong party sent from the earl of Essex; and, between denying that they had promised and saying that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be prisoners, as much against the law of arms as their taking arms was against their allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompense for a defeat, could not but be thought a glorious crown of a victory, which was the death of Mr. Hambden; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which brake the bone, within three weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as June 24.
great a consternation of all that party as if their whole army had been defeated or cut off.

81. Many men observed (as upon signal turns of great affairs, as this was, such observations are frequently made) that the field in which the late skirmish was, and upon which Mr. Hambden received his death's wound, Chalgrove field, was the same place in which he had first executed the ordinance of the militia, and engaged that county, in which his reputation was very great, in this rebellion: and it was confessed by the prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning, after their quarters were beaten up, he was exceedingly solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy, and, being himself a colonel of foot, put himself amongst those horse, as a volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the prince made a stand, all the officers were of opinion to stay till their body came up, and he alone (being second to none but the general himself in the observance and application of all men) persuaded and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him to pay the mulct in the place where he had committed the transgression about a year before.

82. He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercises and company which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. After-

1643 wards he retired to a more reserved and melancholic society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and, above all, a flowing courtesy to all men. Though they who conversed nearly with him found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the Church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country from being made a prey to the Court. His carriage throughout that agitation was with that rare temper and modesty that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him than the service for which it was given. When this Parliament began, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed on him as their *Patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer their vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest at that time was greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

83. He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinions with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and under the notion of doubts insinuating his objections, that he left his opinions with those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions

to be fixed in him with which they could not comply, he always left 1643
the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, that is, the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned that that moderation proceeded [rather] from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begat many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men, so far disguising his own designs that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great a doubt in some as it did approbation in others of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration in Parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

84. After he was amongst those members accused by the King of high treason, he was much altered, his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the King for a treaty from Nottingham, and, as eminently, any expedients that might have produced an accommodation in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on to prevent any infusions which might be made into the earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a

1643 colonel on all occasions most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished whereever he might have been made a friend, and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less congratulated on the one party than it was condoled on the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna[1] might well be applied to him; *Erat illi consilium ad facinus aptum; consilio autem neque lingua neque manu*[*s*] *deerat;* he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any mischieve. His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation[2].

85[3]. The earl of Essex his army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet and restless enemies: and the factions and animosities at London required his presence there, and he thought the army would be sooner recruited there than at so great a distance; so that
May 11. about the beginning of May, or soon after, he marched from T[h]ame to London, where he found jealousy and contention enough; leaving his army quartered about St. Alban's[4]. Whilst the affairs of the Parliament were in this distraction, the King's

[1] [Read 'Catiline.' The quotation is from Cicero, *Orat.* III. *in Catilinam,* § vii.]

[2] ['In a word—deliverance to the nation.' These words are substituted in place of the following in the MS.:—

'— being an irrecoverable blow to the Parliament army, of which the King had so little dread before that fortunate encounter, that, hearing preparations were made at London to send sir William Waller into the west, his majesty had sent his nephew prince Morice and the marquis of Hartford to join with his victorious forces there; of whom 'tis now time to give an account.']

[3] [This one section is from the *Life*, p. 227.]

[4] [The MS. of the *Life* continues here as follows:—

'There was newly discovered a design amongst some citizens of name, with the privity of members of both Houses of the best rank, to compel the Parliament by force to make peace with the King, the correspondence

recovered great reputation; and the season of the year being fit 1643
for action, all discontents and factious murmurings were adjourned to the next winter [1].

between the persons of honour and the citizens being managed by Mr. Waller, who, upon a light discovery made by a false servant who had overheard some discourses, very frankly confessed all he knew, named lords and ladies and gentlemen and merchants, whereof some were condemned and executed, and others of all sorts imprisoned. The relation of that whole affair, and his miserable behaviour in it, deserves to be the part of a more formal discourse. It was not thought prudent to examine that business to the bottom, in which they found very considerable persons engaged or privy; but having taken the lives of some with all the circumstances of terror, causing them to be executed in the streets before their own doors, in the sight of their neighbours, whereof one was a gentleman of good reputation, who had married the sister of Mr. Waller, and had been very assistant to him in his education, whom he sacrificed now without the least or [*sic*] reluctancy, they thought it best to take the words of all the members of both Houses for their own indemnity, by their severally pronouncing a solemn protestation and vow that they had no hand or privity in that design and plot, and in which they promised always to adhere to the Parliament, and to assist the forces raised by the Parliament against the army raised by the King, which was an expression never before heard of; and so all jealousies were extinguished, no man refusing or pausing to take it, choosing rather to run the hazard of that than to be made a spectacle as their other friends are; though as soon as they had secured themselves by that sacred vow, they made what haste they could to the King for better security, and where they might procure God's pardon as well as the King's, without incurring any danger for asking it. Mr. Waller would have been glad to have got his own liberty at the same price, or of any other oath or vow; but he was kept in prison, and continually threatened with death, which he feared and abhorred, till at last [he] redeemed himself at a ransom of ten thousand [pounds], to supply the affairs of the Parliament, and as much more spent upon divines and other intercessors, besides marrying a wife [2] whose friends had contributed to his absolution, and besides, the disposing them to accept all this by a speech pronounced by him at the bar of the House of Commons, of the greatest flattery and the greatest falsehood: such a meanness and lowness of spirit that life itself was no recompense for it.']

[1] [The *Hist.* is here resumed at p. 448 of the MS. The *Life* proceeds thus:—

'Sir Ralph Hopton, and that handful of gentlemen which in the beginning of the troubles had been forced to seek refuge in Cornwall, had, with the countenance and assistance of some faithful persons there, so good success, that they had mastered all unquiet spirits in that county, and had sent to the King, that, if his majesty would supply them with some troops of horse, and ammunition (of which they stood in great need,) they would march into Somersetshire, and there wait his majesty's farther commands. The Queen soon after her landing, and before she could be ready for her own march,

[2] [Mary, daughter of — Bracy, or Bressy, of Thame, Oxon.]

1643 86. The end of the treaty in which we left the chief commanders of the Cornish forces, with commissioners of the other

sent a good supply of arms and ammunition to Oxford, where there was so great want of it that if the earl had come before Oxford there was not powder enough for the action of four hours, nor a hundred spare arms in the magazine. This seasonable supply being now come, the King thought it necessary to give such a countenance to his Cornish troops (for the whole body was raised in Cornwall) as might reduce all the western counties to his devotion, where though the Parliament had in every county, Cornwall now excepted, some garrisons upon the sea-coast, yet they consisted only of the inhabitants and men drawn out of the adjacent villages, and they could not all together [have] sent out a party of horse and foot strong enough to give any trouble to the little Cornish army, or to interrupt their march.

The principal gentry of Somersetshire were now in Oxford, and were all joint suitors to the King to send the marquis of Hartford again into the west; and both the King and the marquis consented to it; and the King appointed them all to meet every day at the Chancellor of the Exchequer's lodging, whom he commanded to assist them in adjusting all that was to be done in order to a present march, the King declaring what troops he would spare for that service, and what ammunition should be ready; the rest they were to advance by their own industry and with their own money, for it was no secret that the King had none. The marquis himself was content to come to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's lodging to confer with the gentlemen, and every man subscribed what he would provide before he went out of the town, and what he would undertake to have ready in the several counties where his interest lay, and some brought in money towards carrying on the work; so that in few days a great advance seemed to be made. But now the fame of new successes in the west, and the general good inclinations of the several counties, and the visible distractions at London, raised new thoughts; and whereas before nothing was thought of but how to convoy this body of Cornish foot, which had performed so many brave actions, after the petty garrisons in the country should be suppressed, which could not take up much time, to increase the body of the King's army, that it might march near London, if it should appear counsellable, it being hoped that those western gentlemen would be presently able to raise strength enough in their several counties to keep these in peace and quiet, it was now thought necessary, upon the stock and credit of those forces and the good conjuncture, to raise a new army, which should never join with the King's, but, after subduing the lesser garrisons, might take Portsmouth, and so visit Sussex and those parts even to Surrey and Kent, where there were likewise some undertakers to be ready to expect and assist them. And now, not only those officers who had undertaken to raise troops and regiments to bring into the King's army, for which they had received commissions, and found they could not perform, desired to be a part of the new army, but many others, who were weary of their superior officers in the army, or hoped to be superiors, were all contriving how to carry away the troops they had into this army, where they

western counties, was like that in other places; for notwith- 1643
standing those extraordinary obligations of oaths and receiving

expected to find more benefit and preferment; and the marquis was willing to hearken to any of those propositions as the best way to increase his own strength, and so consented to the making general officers for a royal army, without thinking upon his old friends who had raised that body in Cornwall, and were of quality and abilities for command superior to most of this new model, and could never submit to be commanded by them.

Prince Rupert, who had always looked upon the interest and credit of the marquis of Hartford as somewhat that eclipsed him, and seeing him like now to be in the head of a royal army, which was to be increased with troops drawn from his command, used all the means he could by himself and those few others who were trusted by him that the King might be persuaded that his brother prince Morrice (who had only a regiment in the army) would be fit to be made general of this army. The King, [who] always loved his family immoderately, and with notable partiality, and was willing to believe that their high quality could not be without all those qualities and qualifications which were equal to it, if they had an opportunity to manifest those endowments, easily entertained that overture, and believed the marquis himself would easily resign his pretences, and be contented to serve under a grandson of King James and the King's nephew. He made choice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to dispose the marquis to this condescension; but he did not only excuse himself from undertaking the office, but used all the means and endeavours he could to dissuade the King from his design, telling him that he thought it easy to dissuade the marquis from undertaking the enter[prise], which nothing but affection to his majesty's service could dispose him to, the marquis loving his ease and abhorring any fatigue, and having no military quality but courage, in which he abounded, but if his majesty would have him engaged in the enterprise, he would not find that he would take any inferior command; which his majesty upon further endeavour found to be true, and, judging that the presence of the marquis was absolutely necessary for the disposing and reconciling all those western counties to his service, (his fortune, which was very great, lying in many of them,) he appointed his nephew prince Morrice to be lieutenant general under the marquis, which nobody believed would produce any good effect, there being no two men of more contrary natures and dispositions. The prince had never sacrificed to the Graces, nor conversed amongst men of quality, but had most used the company of ordinary and inferior men, with whom he loved to be very familiar. He was not qualified with parts of nature, and less with any acquired; and towards men of the best condition, with whom he might very well have justified a familiarity, he maintained at least the full state of his birth, and understood very little more of the war than to fight very stoutly when there was occasion. The marquis was of a very civil and affable nature, and knew well what respect to pay to the other if he were fairly encouraged to it; but he was withal very great hearted, and where more was expected he would give less than was due; nor was there any third person of quality and discretion, who had interest enough in either of them, to prevent mis-

1643 the Sacrament, (circumstances in no other treaty,) the Parlia-
March 8. ment no sooner sent their votes and declarations to them, (the same which are before mentioned upon the treaties in Yorkshire and Cheshire,) and some members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable inclinations were laid aside; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied money throughout Somerset and Devon upon friends and enemies, and a good body of men) the night before the expiration of the treaty and cessation, James Chudleigh, the major general of the rebels, brought a strong party of horse and foot within two miles
March 25. of Lanson, the head quarter of the Cornish, and the very next morning, the cessation not being determined till after twelve of the clock in the night, marched upon the town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the commanders of the Cornish had employed their time as usefully as they could during the cessation, in preparing the gentry of that county and all the inhabitants to submit to a weekly tax for the support of that power which defended [them], over and above which, the gentlemen and persons of quality freely brought in all their plate to be disposed of to the public, and though they foresaw, after the committee of Parliament came into the country, that the treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore sir Ralph Hopton and sir Bevil Greenvill repaired to Lanson the day before the expiration of the treaty to meet any attempt should be made upon them, yet, being to feed and pay their small forces out of one small county, they had been compelled to quarter their men at a great distance, that no one part might be more oppressed than was necessary: so that all that was done the first day was, by the advantage of passes and lining of hedges, to keep the enemy in action till the other forces came up, which they seasonably did towards the evening; and then the enemy, who received good loss in that day's action, grew so heartless that in the night they retired to Okington, [Okehampton] fifteen miles from the place of their skirmish. After which many small skir-

understandings, which there were too many industrious enough to foment; so that at their leaving Oxford, (which was about the middle of May,) it was not hard to divine that that subordination would not last long nor produce any good effects.']

mishes ensued for many days, with various success; sometimes 1643
the Cornish advancing in Devon, and then retiring again; for it appeared now that a formed army was marching against them, so far superior in number that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

87. Towards the middle of May, the earl of Stamford marched into Cornwall, by the north part, with a body of fourteen hundred horse and dragoons, and five thousand four hundred foot by the poll, with a train of thirteen brass ordnance and a mortar-piece, and a very plentiful magazine of victual and ammunition, and every way in as good an equipage as could be provided by men who wanted no money; whilst the King's small forces, being not half the number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, [were [1]] at Lanson; of whom the enemy had so full a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into Pendennis castle, to give them farther trouble. To which purpose, having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high hill, to which the ascents were very steep every way, near Stratton, being the only part of Cornwall eminently disaffected to the King's service, they sent a party of twelve hundred horse and dragoons, under the command of sir George Chudleigh, father to their major general, to Bodmin, to surprise the high shrief and principal gentlemen of the country, and thereby not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the King's party, but, under the awe of such a power of horse, to make the whole country rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his forces, which marched from Lanson with a resolution to fight with the enemy upon any disadvantage of place or number, (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it than retiring into the county, or any thing else that was in their power,) easily now resolved to assault the camp in the absence of their horse. And with this resolution they marched on Monday the fifteenth of May within a mile of the May 15.

[1] ['was,' MS.]

1643 enemy, being so destitute of all provisions that the best officer had but a biscuit a man a day, for two days, the enemy looking upon them as their own.

May 16. 88. On Tuesday the sixteenth of May, about five of the clock in the morning, they disposed themselves to their work, having stood in their arms all the night. The number of the foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four parts, and agreed on their several provinces. The first was commanded by the lord Mohun and sir Ralph Hopton, who undertook to assault the camp on the south side. Next them, on the left hand, sir John Berkely and sir Bevil Greenvill were to force their way. Sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing and colonel Trevan[n]ion were to assault the north side; and on their left hand, colonel Thomas Bassett, who was major general of their foot, and colonel William Godolphin were to advance with their party; each party having two pieces of cannon to dispose as they found necessary: colonel John Digby commanding the horse and dragoons, being about five hundred, and stood upon a sandy common which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could on the enemy, if they charged; otherwise, to be firm as a reserve.

89. In this manner the fight began, the King's forces pressing with their utmost vigour those four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obstinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful success till towards three of the clock in the afternoon, when word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder; which (concealing the defect from the soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with courage: and therefore, by messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full bodies, without making any more shot, till they reached the top of the hill, and so might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officers' courage and resolution was so well seconded by the soldier that they began to get ground in all places, and the enemy, in wonder of the men who outfaced their shot with their swords, to quit their post. Major general Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no

part of a soldier; and when he saw his men recoil from less 1643
numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himself advanced, with a good stand of pikes, upon that party which was led by sir John Berkely and sir Bevil Greenvill, and charged them so smartly that he put them into disorder; sir Bevil Greenvill in the shock being borne to the ground but quickly relieved by his companion, they so reinforced the charge that, having killed most of the assailants and dispersed the rest, they took the major general prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much courage as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon one ground near the top of the hill, where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the other's success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect their victory. But the enemy no sooner understood the loss of their major general but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their arms and others fled, dispersing themselves, and every man shifting for himself, their general, the earl of Stamford, giving the example, who, (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the battle, environed with all the horse, which in small parties, though it is true their whole number was not above six or seven score, might have done great mischieve to the several parties of foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep hill,) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some said sooner, made all imaginable haste to Exciter, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

90. The conquerors, as soon as they had gained the camp and dispersed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, sent a small party of horse to pursue the enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole body of horse, lest sir George should return from Bodmin with

1643 his strong body of horse and dragoons, and find them in disorder, but contenting themselves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in substance as well as circumstance, was as signal a one as hath happened to either party since the unhappy distraction; for on the King's party were not lost in all above fourscore men, whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground and that the other were the assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners, with their major general and above thirty other officers. They took likewise all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, (being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of brass ordnance and a brass mortar-piece,) all their ammunition, being seventy barrels of powder and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biscuit and other excellent provisions of victual, which was as seasonable a blessing as the victory to those who for three or four days before had suffered great want of food as well as sleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger. The army rested that night and the next day at Stratton, all care being taken by express messengers to disperse the news of their success to all parts of the country, and to guard the passes upon the river Tamar, whereby to hinder the return of the enemy's horse and dragoons. But sir George Chudleigh had no sooner with great triumph dispersed the high shrief and gentlemen, who intended to have called the *posse comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the assistance of the King's party, and with little resistance entered Bodmin, but he received the fatal news of the loss of their camp and army at Stratton. Upon which, with as much haste and disorder as so great a consternation could produce amongst a people not acquainted with the accidents of war, leaving many of his men and horses a prey to the country people, himself, with as many as he could get and keep together, got into Plimmoth, and thence without interruption or hazard into Exciter.

91. The earl of Stamford, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same information to the Parliament, that he had been betrayed by James Chudleigh, and that in the heat of the battle, when the hope of the day stood fair, he had voluntarily with a party run over to the enemy, and immediately charged the Parliament forces, which begot in all men a general apprehension of treachery, the soldiers fearing their officers' and the officers the soldiers' revolt; and thereupon the rout ensued. Whereas the truth is, as he was a young man of excellent parts and courage, he performed the part of a right good commander, both in his orders and his person, and was taken prisoner in the body of his enemy, whither he had charged with undaunted courage, when there was no other expedient in reason left. But this scandal, so without colour cast on him and entertained with more credit than his services had merited, (for from the time of his engagement to the Parliament he had served not only with full ability but with notable success, and was the only man that had given any interruption to the prosperity of the Cornish army, and in a night-skirmish, at Bradock Down near Ockington, struck a greater terror into them, and disordered them more, than they were at any other time,) wrought so far upon the young man, together with the kind usage and reception he found as a prisoner among the chief officers, who loved him as a gallant enemy and one like to do the King good service if he were recovered to his loyalty, that after he had been prisoner about ten days he freely declared that he was convinced in his conscience and judgment of the errors he had committed, and, upon promise made to him of the King's pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast on him. 1643

92. The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the cause which he served, or to comply with those arts which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a command in Ireland when this war first brake out, he came thence into England

1643 with a purpose to serve the King, and to that purpose, shortly after his majesty's coming to Oxford, he came thither to tender his service: but he found the eyes of most men fixed on him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his family sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the King, and for some errors of his own in that plot that was so much spoken of to bring up the northern army to awe the Parliament. In which business, being then a very young man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a name, he had expressed much zeal to the King's service, and been busy in inclining the army to engage in such petitions and undertakings as were not gracious to the Parliament; but when that discovery was made by Mr. Goring, (as is before remembered,) and a committee appointed to examine the combination, this gentleman, wrought upon by hopes or fears in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the Court. And therefore, bringing no other testimony with him to Oxford but of his own conscience, he received nothing like countenance there; whereupon he returned to London sufficiently incensed that he was neglected, and was quickly entertained for their western employment, where his nearest friends were throughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him that the designs of the Parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with force and then with reason and civility, and no doubt was much wrought upon by the discipline and integrity of the forces by whom he had been subdued, and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the chief commanders, which indeed was most exemplar and worthy the cause for which they were engaged; the reputation and confession whereof had alone carried them through the difficulties and straits with which they were to contend.

93. The army, willing to relieve their friends of Cornwall from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into Devonshire, not throughly resolved whether to attack Plimmoth or Exciter, or both, when advertisement came to them, by an express from Oxford, that the King had

sent prince Morrice and the marquis of Hartford with a very 1643
good body of horse to join with them, and that they were advanced towards them as far as Somersetshire, and that sir William Waller was designed by the Parliament to visit the west with a new army, which would receive a good recruit from those who escaped from the battle of Stratton: so that it was necessary for all the King's forces in those parts to be united in a body as soon as might be. Hereupon it was quickly resolved to leave such a party at Salt-Ash and Milbrook as might defend faithful Cornwall from any incursions of Plimmoth, and with their army to march eastward; their numbers increasing daily upon the reputation of their new wonderful victory, many volunteers coming to them out of Devonshire, and very many of their prisoners professing they had been seduced, and freely offering to serve the King against those who had wronged both, who, being entertained under some of their own converted officers, behaved themselves afterwards with great honesty and courage. And so, making no longer stay by the way than was necessary for the refreshing of their troops, the Cornish army, (for that was the style it now carried,) marched by Exciter, where the earl of Stamford with a sufficient garrison then was; and staying only two or three days to fix small garrisons, whereby that town (full of fear and apprehension,) might be kept from having too great an influence upon so populous a county, advanced to Tiverton, where a regiment of foot of the Parliament, under colonel Ware, a gentleman of that country, had fixed themselves, hoping sir William Waller would be as soon with them for their relief as the Cornish would be to force them; which being easily dispersed, they stayed there to expect new orders from the marquis of Hartford.

94. When the loss of Reading was well digested, and the King understood the declining condition of the earl of Essex's army, and that he would either not be able to advance or not in such a manner as would give him much trouble at Oxford, and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful party in Cornwall stood, whither the Parliament was making all haste to send sir

1643 William Waller, to check their good success, his majesty resolved to send the marquis of Hartford into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime gentlemen of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire who confidently undertook, if the marquis went through those counties with such a strength as they supposed the King would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power as to oppose any force the Parliament should be able to send. When the marquis was ready for his journey, news arrived of the great victory at Stratton, so that there was no danger of the marquis's being able to join with that little Cornish army; and then there appeared indeed a visible body worthy the name of an army. This put some persons upon desiring that prince Morrice (who was yet in no other quality of command than of a private colonel of horse, but had always behaved himself with great courage and vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a command of that army. Hereupon the King assigned him, and his highness willingly accepted, to be lieutenant general under the marquis, who for many reasons, (besides that he was actually possessed of it,) was thought only fit to have the superior power over those western counties where his fortune lay, and the estimation and reverence of the people to him was notorious. So the prince and marquis, with prince Morrice's and the earl of Carnarvon's and colonel Thomas Howard's regiments of horse, (the earl being general of the cavalry,) advanced into the west; and staying only some few days at Salisbury, and after in Dorsetshire, whilst some new regiments of horse and foot, which were levying by the gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into Somersetshire, being desirous to join with the Cornish as soon as might be, presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new levies when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful force. For sir William Waller was already marched out of London, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

95. In the marquis's first entrance into the west he had an unspeakable loss, and the King's service a far greater, by the

death of Mr. Rogers, a gentleman of a rare temper and excellent 1643
understanding; who, besides that he had a great interest in the marquis, being his cousin-german, and so out of that private relation, as well as zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the service, had a wonderful great influence upon the county of Dorset, for which he served as one of the knights in Parliament, and had so well designed all things there, that Poole and Lyme, two port towns in that county, which gave the King afterwards much trouble, if he had lived had been undoubtedly reduced; but by his death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving gentry of that shire being (how well affected soever) so unactive that the progress that was that year made there to the King's advantage owed little to their assistance.

96. About the middle of June[1], prince Morrice and the marquis, with sixteen or seventeen hundred horse, and about one thousand new levied foot, and seven or eight field-pieces, came to Chard, a fair town in Somersetshire, nearest the edge of Devonshire, where, according to order, they were met by the Cornish army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent foot, five hundred horse, and three hundred dragoons, with four or five field-pieces; so that, officers and all, being joined, they might well pass for an army of seven thousand men, with an excellent train of artillery, and a very fair proportion of ammunition of all sorts, and so good a reputation that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the chief officers of the Cornish had not been much superior to that of their common soldiers, who valued themselves high as the men whose courage had alone vindicated the King's cause in the west, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the marquis's party was in numbers, it was supplied with all the general officers of a royal army, a general, lieutenant general, general of the horse, general of the ordnance, a major general of horse, and another of foot, without keeping suitable

[1] [June 4; *Merc. Aulicus*, p. 303.]

1643 commands for those who had done all that was past, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come; so that the chief officers of the Cornish army, by joining with a much less party than themselves, were at best in the condition of private colonels. Yet the same public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations amongst inferior officers and common soldiers, and were with equal candour and estimation valued by the prince and marquis, who bethought themselves of all expedients which might prevent any misunderstanding.

97. Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being the fairest, largest, and richest town in Somersetshire, but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a garrison; but they had not yet the same courage they
June 5. recovered afterwards: for the army was no sooner drawn near the town, the head quarters being at Orchard, a house of baronet Portman's, two miles from the town, but the town sent two of their substantial inhabitants to treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the garrison, (the prisoners in the castle, whereof many were men of good fortunes, imprisoned there as malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there,) that the garrison fled out of the town to Bridgewater, being a less town but of a much stronger
June 6. situation, and with the same panic fear the next day from thence. So that the marquis was possessed in three days of Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunstar castle, so much stronger than both the other that it could not have been forced, yet by the dexterity of Francis Windham, who wrought upon the fears of the owner and master of it, Mr. Luttrel, was, with as little
June 7. blood as the other, delivered up to the King; into which the marquis put him that took it as governor, as he well deserved.

98. The government of Taunton he committed to sir John Stowell, a gentleman of a very great estate in those parts, and who from the beginning had heartily and personally engaged himself and his children for the King, and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the Parliament.

The other government, of Bridgewater, was conferred upon 1643
Edmund Windham, high shrief of the county, being a gentleman of a fortune near the place, and of good personal courage and unquestionable affection to the cause. The army stayed about Taunton seven or eight days, for the settling those garrisons, and to receive advertisements of the motion or station of the enemy; in which time they lost much of the credit and reputation they had with the country. For whereas the chief commanders of the Cornish army had restrained their soldiers from all manner of license, obliging them to solemn and frequent actions of devotion, insomuch as the fame of their religion and discipline was no less than of their courage, and thereupon sir Ralph Hopton (who was generally considered as the general of that army, though it was governed by such a commission as is before remembered) was greedily expected in his own country, where his reputation was second to no man's; the horse that came now with the marquis, having lived under a looser discipline, and coming now into plentiful quarters, unvisited by any army, and yielding some excuse to this by the eminency of their disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the enemy credit in laying more to their charge than they deserved, and by their license hindered those orderly levies which should have brought in a supply of money for the regular payment of the army. And this extravagancy produced another mischieve, some jealousy, or shadow of it, between the lord marquis and prince Morrice; the first, as being better versed in the policy of peace than in the mysteries of war, desiring to regulate the soldier and to restrain him from using any license upon the country; and the prince being thought so wholly to incline to the soldier that he neglected any consideration of the country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependence of the soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the garrisons before mentioned they advanced with unity and alacrity eastward to find out the enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable body within less than twenty miles of them.

1643 99 [1]. Whilst so much time was spent at Oxford to prepare the supplies for the west, and in settling the manner of sending them, which might have been done much sooner and with less noise, the Parliament foresaw that if all the west were recovered from them their quarters would by degrees be so straitened that their other friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the western ports at their devotion, those in Cornwall only excepted; and their fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth throughout the kingdom, yet the common people, especially in the clothing parts of Somersetshire, were generally too much inclined to them, so that they could not want men, if they sent a body of horse and some arms to countenance them; with the last of which they had stored the sea-towns which were in their hands sufficiently. And therefore they resolved that, though they could not easily recruit their army, they would send some troops of horse and dragoons into the west, to keep up the spirits of their friends there. And for the conduct of this service they made choice of sir William Waller, a member of the House of Commons, and a gentleman of a family in Kent.

100. Sir William Waller had been well bred, [and,] having spent some years abroad, and some time in the armies there, returned with a good reputation home; and shortly after, having married a young lady who was to inherit a good fortune in the west [2], he had a quarrel with a gentleman of the same family, who had the honour to be a menial servant to the King in a place near his person, which in that time was attended with privilege and respect from all men. These two gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, sir William Waller received such provocation from the other that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the gate of Westminster Hall that he got witnesses to swear that it was in the hall itself, the courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of law, makes it

[1] [§§ 99, 100 are from the *Life*, p. 229.]

[2] [Jane, daughter of Sir Rich. Reynell, of Ford House, Woolborough, Devon.]

very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court made 1643
the prosecution to be very severe, insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom, the benefit whereof was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous. And this produced in him so eager a spirit against the Court that he was very open to any temptation that might engage him against it; and so, concurring in the House of Commons with all those counsels which were most violent, he was employed in their first military action for the reducing of Portsmouth, which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before [1]. And when the earl of Essex had put the army into winter quarters, he had with some troops made a cavalcade or two into the west, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose quarters but had surprised a fixed and fortified quarter, made by the lord Harbert of Ragland near Gloster, in which he took above twelve hundred prisoners, with all the officers, being a number very little inferior to his own party; which is likewise particularly remembered before [2]. So that he got great reputation with the Parliament and the city, and was called *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true that they who looked upon the earl of Essex as a man that would not keep them company to the end of their journey, had their eyes upon sir William Waller as a man more for their turn, and were desirous to extol him the more that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march with so great expedition and secrecy, that the marquis of Hartford was no sooner joined to the Cornish troops, (in which time Bridgewater and Dunstar, and some other places, were reduced from the Parliament,) before he was informed that sir William Waller was within two days' march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from Bristol and the parts adjacent, which were all under the Parliament, than the marquis could from the open country; and therefore it was held most counsellable to advance, and engage him whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march towards Oxford, which they were now inclined to do.

[1] [Book VI. § 32, *note*.] [2] [Book VI. § 292.]

1643 101[1]. Though sir William Waller himself continued still at Bath, yet the remainder of those horse and dragoons that es-

[1] [The text is here resumed from the *Hist.*, p. 451, the *Life* giving (at pp. 230–2) the following account of the battles of Lansdowne and Roundway Down :—

'For six or seven days there was continual skirmishes, Waller retiring with great order and little loss, and the marquis advancing with some little advantage, till they came near Bath; and then Waller, having drawn a regiment or two of foot from the garrison of Bristol, and others out of the country, by the credit and countenance of Hungerford and Popham, appeared near Lansdowne, an open plain within two miles of Bath, where both sides drew up in good order, having room enough. The action was performed on both sides with courage and resolution, till the night parted them, when Waller drew to the lower ground, to the shelter of a hedge and wall. Many officers and gentlemen of quality fell on both sides, and if the Cornish foot had not stood very firm when the horse was shaken, it would have proved a sad day; but sir Bevil Greenevill, in the head of his pikes, bore the shock of Waller's horse, and broke them, and forced them to retire, though himself lost his life in the service, to the universal grief of the army, and, indeed, of all who knew him. He was a gallant and a sprightly gentleman, of the greatest reputation and interest in Cornwall, and had most contributed to all the service that had been done there, and to the leading the army out of the country, and by the gentleness of his spirit, accompanied with courage and authority, had restrained much of the licence, and suppressed the murmur and mutiny, to which that people were too much inclined, especially after they were joined to the marquis's troops and made subject to the command of new officers. All men exceedingly lamented his loss at the time he fell, and had cause to renew the lamentation very often afterwards. Though the day had proved sad and melancholic enough, the evening was by much the more tragical; for when the forces were content to breathe on both sides, some of the officers repairing to the artillery, to see in what state it was, and to give order to send ammunition to those places where it was wanted, by what accident was never known, a waggon of powder was blown up, which blew up and killed all the persons about it, whereof some were of name. Col. Thomas Sheldon, who commanded prince Morrice's regiment of horse, was at some distance from it, yet his horse was killed under him, and himself so hurt from head to foot that he died with[in] two days, a gentleman of great courage, and generally beloved; and (which made up the tragedy) sir Ralph Hopton, whose name had been much and deservedly magnified in all the western service, being yet farther from the waggon, was by the blast of the powder thrown from his horse, which was killed, and so hurt that he was looked upon as dead for many days, though, by the diligence of his servants, with God's blessing, he recovered afterwards, to give signal marks of his fidelity to the King; but the marks of that ill accident were never worn out, and deprived him of that gracefulness and lustre in his person and countenance which he formerly had.

In the morning after this battle, it appeared that Waller had drawn off

caped out of Cornwall after the battle of Stratton, and such other as were sent out of Exciter for their ease when they appre- 1643

all his men in the night, leaving lighted matches in the wall and hedge to amuse the enemy; which raised their spirits very much, and was an evident sign that the victory remained on the marquis's part, and gave them cause to believe that the loss was very great on that side, and that they should be troubled no more with him; so that after a day's repose in the neighbour villages, which was in many respects necessary, the marquis continued his march towards Oxford by the way of Chippenham; but quickly found that Waller, with the same repose, and the fresh supplies he received every day from the country, attended upon his rear very near, so that both horse and foot were engaged every day; and they now found the loss of the waggon of powder which was blown up at Lansdowne, for they had not enough left to make a stand, or to line the hedges to secure their rear and [keep] [1] the enemy back. So that when they came to the Devizes, an open market-town in Wiltshire, of receipt enough for the men, they found it necessary that all the foot, their cannon, and their sick and wounded men, which had necessarily made their march slow, should remain there, whilst the horse went away, as they easily might, to Oxford; from whence they doubted not to send fresh succour to the rest before they should be overpressed or overpowered by Waller, who was not yet come out, and found difficulties enough in his pursuit. When they came into the Devizes, they found they had not match enough to keep their guards, so that both the marquis and prince Morrice in the night thought fit likewise to leave them, and so made haste to Oxford, where the old jealousies between the prince and the marquis were presently revived; the friends of either making all the disadvantageous reports they could of the other, whilst most men thought neither of them had done honourably in abandoning the army, and coming themselves to call for help. In the mean time the small army in the Devizes was [2], upon the matter, left without command for the forces which had been brought or raised by the marquis, and were much less in number than the Cornish, who would only obey the officers they had known, and the lord [Hopton] remained so ill, and so obliged not to come into the air, that he would not assume the command, whom all would obey. Notwithstanding all which, and though Waller was now come before the town, and summoned them, the officers agreed so well, and took [such] pains by beating all the bed-cords in the town into matches and barricadoing the avenues, that Waller durst not assault them; so that they relied upon succour in time, and expected it accordingly, and without any other impatience than by giving account to Oxford of the truth of their condition.

This sudden unexpected news, (for the last account had brought the issue of the battle at Lansdowne, where the victory was understood to be on the King's side, or at least the enemy to be dismayed,) raised such a damp at Oxford, (as the ebbs and floods of fortune made always great impressions there,) that all men [were] dispirited, and the arrival of the prince and the marquis in the break of the day spread the rumour through the town that that army was totally lost. The Queen was now come from

[1] ['keeping,' MS.] [2] ['which was,' MS.]

1643 hended a siege, and those soldiers who fled out of Taunton and Bridgewater, and other regiments of the country, were by Alex-

York and upon her march towards Oxford, and the King had sent to her that he would not fail to meet her such a day at a place a good day's journey from Oxford, and that appointment must of necessity hold, and good troops attend the King, who was to march very near the garrison of Warwick belonging to the Parliament. However, it was evident that if the Devizes was not instantly relieved that gallant party must be lost. It was therefore quickly resolved that Wilmott, lieutenant general of the horse, should march away with a good party of about 1200 horse and some dragoons, there being sent before a regiment of horse under the command of the earl of Cra[w]ford, with a supply of as much powder and match as could well be carried by the troopers on their horses, which was lost, and that regiment disordered by the enemy, which had blocked up all the passages to the town. Waller had not so soon notice of the approach of the King's horse as his vigilance might have expected, and he received it first by the interception of a messenger, who was sent to inform those in the town of it, that they might be ready to draw out as soon as the enemy could be obliged to draw off; and upon this advertisement, and fearing to be enclosed between the horse which were coming and the foot of the town, which he knew to be superior in courage to his, and having great confidence in his horse, he drew off his horse, foot, and cannon to an open plain piece of ground upon the top of a steep hill from the town, and about a mile's distance from thence, called Roundway Hill, where the enemy was to pass, and there he put his men in order, and expected them. Wilmott, finding them in this posture, with horse, foot, and cannon much superior to him in number, and hearing nothing of the foot from the town, though he had made all signs to them from another part of the hill, according to what he had appointed them to expect by his messenger, that body of foot being the strength upon which he relied, knew not what to do; but calling his officers together, amongst whom there was the earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse under the marquis of Hartford in the west, and had been engaged in all the actions with Waller, and so knew his manner of fighting, who came now only as a volunteer in the regiment of sir John Byron, they all found it necessary to fight, since they could not expect the foot longer than the enemy would give them leave; and observing that Waller had placed all his horse in several small bodies at some distance each from other, and all between them and his foot and cannon, Carnarvon said that the regiment of cuirassiers[1], who were all covered with armour, and commanded by sir Arthur Haslerigge, and which stood nearest to them, were the men upon whom Waller principally depended, and therefore desired Wilmott that their whole body might charge them; and if they could rout them, it was probable it might have a good effect upon their whole army. Which advice being followed, had the effect desired; for that body being charged by all the King's horse, though they stood well, and longer than was expected, could not bear that shock; and when they were broken, they fell upon their own next body of horse, and disordered

[1] ['curaceers,' MS.]

ander Popham, Strowde, and the other deputy-lieutenants of the militia for Somerset, rallied, and with the train-bands and volunteer regiments of the country drawn together, with that confidence that, when the marquis had taken up his head quarters at Somerton, the enemy before break of day fell upon a regiment of dragoons quartered a mile eastward from that town, and gave so brisk an alarum to the army that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the enemy, (being the first they had seen make any stand before them since the battle of Stratton,) who, making stands upon places of advantage, and maintaining little skirmishes in the rear, retired in no ill order to Wells; and the King's forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that city likewise, and drew their whole body, (appearing in number as considerable as their pursuers,) to the top of a hill called Mendip Hill, overlooking the city of Wells which they had left. The day being far spent, and the march having been long, the marquis, with all the foot and train, stayed at Wells; but prince Morrice and the earl of Carnarvon, with sir Ralph

1643 June 10.

them, and all their horse fell upon and into their body of foot, and routed them more than the enemy could have done; and thereupon Waller himself, Haslerigge, sir Edward Hungerford, and such other officers as were best horsed, without making farther resistance, fled the nearest way, in all the confusion imaginable; many running their horses down the steep of the hill, and so falling, were either killed with the fall, or so hurt that they became prisoners. By this time the body of the foot in the Devizes was come up, without having received any other advertisement, till after they came out of the town, than the seeing the enemy in some disorder drawing themselves together from their several quarters, which at first they believed to be upon design, but soon after, by their march towards the plain, they concluded that the relief was come from Oxford; and so they quickly got their men together who were in health, (for sir Ralph Hopton and many other sick and wounded men were still left behind in the town;) and when they were drawn out, they received another direction from Wilmot which way they were to march; and so they came to the top of the ground when the enemy was in that confusion, and lost no time in falling upon the foot, to revenge what they had suffered, and sacrificed too many to the memory of their beloved Greenevill. In this total general defeat many were slain, without the loss of any officer of name on the King's side, and about twelve hundred men taken prisoners, whereof many of their considerable officers, all their baggage and cannon, and a rich booty to the soldiers, who upon this good fortune had leisure to repose themselves in the quarters they were before weary of, and to expect new orders from the King.']

1643 Hopton and sir John Berkely, and two regiments of horse, resolved to look upon the enemy on the top of the hill; who suffered them without interruption to gain the top of the hill level with them, and then, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large front of their horse, to give their foot and baggage leisure and security, retired together as the prince advanced. This, and the natural contempt the King's horse yet had of the enemy, which in all skirmishes and charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away, and therefore followed them over those large hills faster than before, till the enemy, who were anon to pass through a lane and a village called Chewton, were compelled before their entrance into the lane to leave their reserve, which faced about much thinner than it was over the hill: which opportunity and advantage was no sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the earl of Carnarvon (who always charged home) with incomparable gallantry charged the enemy, and pressed them so hard that he entered the lane with them, and routed the whole body of their horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

102. But this was like to have been a dear success; for sir William Waller, who lay with his new army at Bath, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the garrison at Bristol, had directed this body which was in Somerset to retire before the King's forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh strong party of horse and dragoons to assist their retreat, which, by the advantage of a fog, had marched without being discovered: so that the earl of Carnarvon, being a stranger in the country and the ways, pursued the flying enemy in[to] sir William Waller's quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh body of horse and dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could, and sent the prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the village; choosing rather, with very good reason, to attend the enemy in the plain heath than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the earl of Carnarvon with his regiment came

to him, broken and chased by the enemy; who immediately 1643
drew up a large front of horse and dragoons, much stronger than the prince's party, who had only his own and the earl of Carnarvon's regiments, with some gentlemen volunteers. The strait and necessity he was in was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over those fair hills, being pursued with a fresh party much superior in number. Therefore he took a gallant resolution to give the enemy a brisk charge with his own regiment upon their advance, whilst the earl rallied his, and prepared to second him as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the prince in the head of his regiment charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke and routed that part of the front that received the impression. But almost half the enemy's horse, that, being extended larger than his front, were not charged, wheeled about and charged the prince in the rear; and at the same time the earl of Carnarvon with his rallied regiment charged their rear; and all this so throughly performed, that they were mingled pell mell one amongst the other, and the good sword [was] to decide the controversy, their pistols being spent in the close. The prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his horse; but he was presently relieved, and carried off, and the enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the earl of Carnarvon, who had a fair execution upon them as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head quarters at Wells; there having been in those skirmishes threescore or fourscore men lost on the prince's party, and three times that number by the enemy; the action being too quick to take many prisoners.

103. At Wells the army rested many days, as well to recover the prince's wounds, being only cuts with swords, as to consult what was next to be done; for they were now within distance of an enemy that they knew would fight with them. For sir William Waller was at Bath with his whole army, much increased by those who were chased out of the west; and resolved

1643 not to advance, having all advantages of provisions and passes, till a new supply he every day expected from London were arrived with him. On the other side, the marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an enemy, but to secure himself at his rear, that the disaffection of the people behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of sir William Waller might not take fresh courage. Though Cornwall was reasonably secured to keep off any impression upon itself from Plimmoth, yet Devonshire was left in a very unsafe posture; there being only a small party at Columb-John, a house of sir John Ackland's, three miles off Exciter, to control the power of that city, where the earl of Stamford was, and to dispute not only with any commotion that might happen in the country but with any power that might arrive by sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence that the Parliament had sent directions to the earl of Warwick, their admiral, to attend the Devonshire coast with his fleet and take any advantage he could, the marquis, by the advice of the council of war, sent sir John Berkely back into Devonshire, with colonel Howard's regiment of horse, to command the forces which were then there, and to raise what numbers more he could possibly for the blocking up that city and reducing the county; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the army sir James Hambleton's regiment of horse and dragoons, which had been left in Devonshire, and by the license they took weakened the King's party; so that by sending this relief thither he did not lessen at all his own numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by the success.

104. After this disposition, and eight or ten days' rest at Wells, the army generally expressing a handsome impatience to meet with the enemy, of which at that time they had a greater contempt than in reason they should have, the prince and marquis advanced to Frome, and thence to Bradford, within four [1] miles of Bath. And now no day passed without action, and very sharp skirmishes; sir William Waller having received from London a fresh regiment of five hundred horse, under the

[1] [Seven.]

command of sir Arthur Haslerigge, which were so prodigiously armed that they were called by the other side *the regiment of lobsters*, because of their bright iron shells with which they were covered, being perfect cuirassiers[1]; and were the first seen so armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the King's horse, who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the sword, which were almost the only weapons the other were furnished with. 1643

105. The contention was hitherto with parties, in which the successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as sir William Waller, upon the first advance from Wells, beat up a regiment of horse and dragoons of sir James Hambleton's, and dispersed them, so within two days the King's forces beat a party of his from a pass near Bath, where the enemy lost two field-pieces and near an hundred men. But sir William Waller had the advantage in his ground, having a good city, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his army together in; and so in his choice not to fight but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the enemy advantage upon their quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the field, and endure great distress of provision; the country being so disaffected that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the enemy to a battle upon equal terms, which, having the advantage, he wisely avoided, the marquis and prince Morrice advanced with their whole body to Mars[h]field, five miles beyond Bath towards Oxford; presuming that by this means they should draw the enemy from the place of advantage, their chief business being to hinder them from joining with the King. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and neglected the enemy till they had quitted their advantages, it is probable they might have fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, with the straits they endured for want of provisions, and their waste of July 3.

[1] ['curasseers,' MS., here and in the next section.]

1643 ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily hedge-skirmishes and upon their guards, being so near, as could have been in battle, would not admit that patience; for sir William Waller, who was not to suffer that body to join with the King, no sooner drew out his whole army to Lansdowne, which looked towards Mars[h]field, but they suffered themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

July 5. 106. It was upon the fifth of July when sir William Waller, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high way, raised breast-works with fagots and earth, and planted cannon there, he sent a strong party of horse towards Mars[h]field, which quickly alarumed the other army, and was shortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the King's forces had to cope with the enemy, when they had drawn into battalia and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage, and so retired again towards their old quarters: which sir William Waller perceiving, sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill, to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces; which they did throughly, the regiment of cuirassiers so amating[1] the horse they charged that they totally routed them, and, standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the King's horse, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the same confidence and in the same manner they had done. However, in the end, after sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing, with three hundred musketeers, had fallen upon and beaten their reserve of dragooners, prince Morrice and the earl of Carnarvon, rallying their horse and winging them with the Cornish musketeers, charged the enemy's horse again and totally routed them, and in the same manner received two bodies more, and routed and chased them to the hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of

[1] ['Amazing' in previous editions. To amate = to terrify. The word occurs again in the note to § 264.]

small shot and some cannon; on either flank grew a pretty thick 1643
wood towards the declining of the hill, in which strong parties of musketeers were placed; at the rear was a very fair plain, where the reserves of horse and foot stood ranged; yet the Cornish foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage that they desired to fall on, and cried out, 'that they might have leave to fetch off those cannon.' In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horse and foot. Two strong parties of musketeers were sent into the woods which flanked the enemy; and the horse and musketeers up the road way, which were charged by the enemy's horse and routed; then sir Bevil Greenevill advanced, with a party of horse on his right hand, that ground being best for them, and his musketeers on the left, himself leading up his pikes in the middle, and in the face of their cannon and small-shot from their breast-works, gained the brow of the hill, having sustained two full charges of the enemy's horse; but in their third charge, his horse failing and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a poleaxe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him; yet the musketeers fired so fast upon the horse that they quit their ground, and the two wings who were sent to clear the woods having done their work and gained those parts of the hill, at the same time they beat off their foot, and became possessed of their breast-works, and so made way for their whole body of horse, foot, and cannon to ascend the hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground which they had won; the enemy retiring about demi-culverin shot behind a stone wall upon the same level, and standing in reasonable good order.

107. Either party was sufficiently tired and battered to be contented to stand still. The King's horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the field in the morning there were not above six hundred on the top of the hill. The enemy was exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked one at another till the night interposed. About

1643 twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a show of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart volley of small-shot, and finding themselves answered with the like, they made no more noise: which the prince observing, he sent a common soldier to hearken as near the place where they were as he could, who brought word that the enemy had left light[ed] matches in the wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the field; which was true; so that as soon as it was day the King's army found themselves possessed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other ensigns of victory: sir William Waller being marched to Bath, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left a great store of arms and ten barrels of powder behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day's service no less than fourscore barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

108. In this battle, on the King's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality slain than common men, and more hurt than slain. That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others the less spoken of, was the death of sir Bevil Greenevill; who was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall, and his temper and affections so public, that no accidents which happened could make any impression in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage and a gentler disposition were never married together to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation.

109. Very many officers and persons of quality were hurt; as the lord Arundel of Warder, shot in the thigh with a brace of pistol bullets, sir Ralph Hopton, shot through the arm with a musket, sir George Vaughan and many others hurt in the head of their troops with swords and poleaxes; of which none of name died. But the morning added much to the melancholy of their victory, when the field was entirely their own. For sir Ralph Hopton riding up and down the field to visit the hurt

men, and to put the soldiers in an order and readiness for 1643
motion, sitting on his horse, with other officers and soldiers about him, near a waggon of ammunition, in which were eight barrels of powder, (whether by treachery or mere accident is uncertain,) the powder was blown up, and many who stood nearest killed, and many more maimed; amongst which sir Ralph Hopton and sergeant major Sheldon were miserably hurt; of which major Sheldon, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a man of an undaunted courage and as great gentleness of nature. Sir Ralph Hopton, having hardly so much life as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a litter, and then the army marched to their old quarters to Mars[h]field, exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune, (sir Ralph Hopton being indeed the soldiers' darling;) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of sir Ralph Hopton, who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit for travel. In this time many of the horse which had been routed in the morning, before the hill was won, found the way to Oxford, and, according to the custom of those who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the marquis, but, withal, a desire of a regiment or two of fresh horse, and a supply of ammunition; whereupon the earl of Cra[w]ford, with his regiment of horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of ammunition as was desired.

110. After a day's rest at Mars[h]field, it being understood that sir William Waller was still at Bath, (his army having been rather surprised and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the Cornish foot, than much weakened by the numbers slain, which was not greater than on the King's part,) and that he had sent for fresh supply from Bristol, it was concluded rather to march to Oxford, and so to join with the King's army, than to stay and attend the enemy, which was so near his supplies:

1643 and so they marched towards Chippenham. But when sir
July 7. William Waller had intelligence of the blowing up of the powder, of which he well knew there was scarcity enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his men, and verily believed that they had no ammunition, and that the loss of sir Ralph Hopton (whom the people took to be the soul of that army, the other names being not so much spoken of or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the spirits of the soldiers; and having gotten some fresh men from Bristol, and more from the inclinations of the three counties of Wilts, Gloster, and Somerset, which joined about Bath in the most absolute disaffected parts of all three, he followed the marquis towards Chippenham; to which he was as near from Bath as the other from Mars[h]-field.

July 8. 111. The next day, early in the morning, upon notice that the enemy was in distance, the prince and the marquis drew back the army through Chippenham, and presented themselves in battalia to the enemy; being very well contented to fight in such a place, where the success was to depend more on their foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than on their horse, which were at best weary, though their officers were, to envy, forward and resolute. But sir William Waller, who was a right good chooser of advantages, liked not that ground; relying as much upon his horse, who had gotten credit and courage, and as little upon his foot, who were only well armed and well bodied, very vulgarly spirited and officered: so that having stood all night in battalia, and the enemy not coming on, the prince and marquis the next day advanced towards the Devizes, sir Nicholas Sla[n]ning, with great spirit and prudence, securing the rear with strong parties of mukseteers; with which he gave the enemy, who pressed upon them very smartly, so much interruption, that sir William Waller, despairing of overtaking, sent a trumpet to the marquis, with a letter, offering a pitched field at a place of his own choosing, out of the way. The which being easily understood to be only a stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the marquis carried the trumpet three or four

miles with him, and then sent him back with such an answer as was fit. There were all this day perpetual and sharp skirmishes in the rear; the enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the army safely reached the Devizes. 1643 July 9.

112. Then the case was altered for their retreat to Oxford, the enemy being upon them with improvement of courage and improvement of numbers; sir William Waller having dispersed his warrants over the country, signifying that he had beaten the marquis, and requiring the people to rise in all places for the apprehension of his scattered and dispersed troops; which confidence men conceived could not proceed from less than a manifest victory, and so men flocked to him as the master of the field. The foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in being such as they could move no way towards Oxford but over a *campania* of many miles, where the stronger in horse must needs prevail.

113. Hereupon it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the lord marquis and prince Morrice should that night break through with all the horse to Oxford; and that sir Ralph Hopton (who by this was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the earl of Marlborough, who was general of the artillery, the lord Mohun, and the other good officers of foot, should stay there with their foot and cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves for a few days till the generals might return with relief from Oxford, which was not above thirty[1] miles off. This resolution was pursued; and the same night all the horse got safe away into the King's quarters, and the prince and marquis in the morning came to Oxford; by which time sir William Waller had drawn all his forces about the Devizes. The town was open, without the least fortification or defence but small ditches and hedges, upon which the foot were placed, and some pieces of cannon conveniently planted. The avenues, which were many, were quickly barricadoed, to hinder the entrance of the horse, which were principally apprehended. July 10. July 11.

[1] [About fifty.]

1643 Sir William Waller had soon notice of the remove of the horse, and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole force close to the town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a battery upon a hill near the town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with horse, foot, and cannon, but was in all places more resolutely resisted and repulsed. At the same time, having intelligence (as his intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the earl of Cra[w]ford's marching with a supply of powder, according to the order, after the first notice of the battle of Lansdowne, he sent a strong party of horse and dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the horse towards Oxford, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his ammunition and a troop or two of his horse.

114. Upon this improvement of his success sir William Waller reckoned his victory out of question; and thereupon sent a trumpet into the town to summon the besieged, to let them know that he had cut off their relief, and that their state was now desperate, and therefore advised them to submit themselves to the Parliament, with whom he would mediate on their behalfs. They in the town were not sorry for the overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honour at any rates. When the enemy came first before the town, and the guards were supplied with ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of match left in the store; whereupon diligent officers were directed to search every house in the town, and to take all the bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten and boiled. By this sudden expedient, there was by the next morning provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable match as very well endured that sharp service. Then the compass of the ground they were to keep was so large, and the enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole

body were upon perpetual duty together, neither officer or soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the chief officers was most necessary to keep up the courage of the common men, who well enough understood the danger they were in; and therefore they were very glad of this message, and returned that they would send an officer to treat if a cessation were agreed to during the time of the treaty; which was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited. 1643

115. On the party of the besieged were proposed such terms as might take up most time in the debate, and might imply courage and resolution to hold out. Sir William Waller, on the other hand, offered only quarter and civil usage to the officers, and leave to the common soldiers to return to their houses without their arms, except they would voluntarily choose to serve the Parliament. These being terms many of the officers would not have submitted to in the latest extreme, the treaty ended, after those in the town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours' sleep, and so long time sparing of ammunition. The truth is, sir William Waller was so confident that they were at his mercy, that he had written to the Parliament that their work was done, and that by the next post he would send the number and quality of his prisoners; neither did he imagine it possible that any relief could have been sent from Oxford, the earl of Essex, to whom he had signified his success and the posture he was in, lying with his whole army at T[h]ame, within ten[1] miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those men who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the marquis and prince arrived at Oxford, with the sad and unexpected news and relations of the distress of their friends, though the Queen was then on her march towards Oxford, and the King had appointed to meet her two days' journey for her security, his majesty resolved to take only his own guards of horse and prince Rupert's regiment for that expedition, and sent the lord Wilmott with all the rest of the horse to

[1] [within thirteen.]

1643 march that very day in which the advertisement came to him towards the Devizes; so that the marquis and the prince coming to Oxford on the Monday morning, the lord Wilmott that night moved towards the work[1], and, prince Maurice returning with him as a volunteer but the lord Wilmott commanding in chief, appeared on the Wednesday about noon upon the plain within two miles of the town.

Thursday, July 13.

116. The lord Wilmott had with him fifteen hundred horse, and no more, and two small field-pieces, which he shot off to give the town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair *campania* about the town, when the enemy should rise from before it, he[2] should be able in spite of them to join with the foot, and so to have a fair field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the enemy being superior by much in horse, very few of those who had broken away from the Devizes (except the prince himself, the earl of Carnarvon, and some other officers) being come up with them, partly because they were tired and dispersed, and partly because it was not desired to have many of those who might have their old terror still upon them. The enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this party of horse with the foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off on all parts from the town, and put themselves in battalia on the top of a fair hill called Roundway-down, over which the King's forces were necessarily to march, being full two miles off the town. They within conceived it hardly possible that the relief they expected from Oxford could so soon arrive, all the messengers who were sent to give notice of it having miscarried by the closeness of the siege, and therefore suspected the[3] warning pieces from the plain, and the drawing off the town by the enemy, to be a stratagem to cozen the foot from those posts they defended into the open field, and so, very reasonably, being in readiness to march, waited a surer evidence that their friends were at hand; which

[1] [The marquis of Hertford and prince Maurice arrived at Oxford on Tuesday, July 11, and the prince went back with the cavalry on the following morning. *Merc. Aulicus*, p. 367.]

[2] ['that he,' MS.]

[3] ['that the,' MS.]

shortly arrived, and assured them that the prince was by, and 1643
expected them.

117. It will be easily conceived with what alacrity they advanced; but sir William Waller had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast on the lord Wilmott that without such shifts and traverses as might give his men some apprehension he could not expect the foot from the town; and therefore he put his troops in order upon that ground to expect the enemy's charge, who were somewhat more than musket-shot off, in order of battle.

118. Here sir William Waller, out of pure gaiety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for, being in excellent order of battle, with strong wings of horse to his foot, and a good reserve placed, and his cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjuncture between the horse and the foot in the town, and gratifying his enemy with the same contempt which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their number inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched with his whole body of horse, from his foot, to charge the enemy, appointing sir Arthur Haslerigge with his cuirassiers apart to make the first impression, who was encountered by sir John Byron, in whose regiment the earl of Carnarvon charged as a volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which sir Arthur Haslerigge received many wounds, that impenetrable regiment was routed, and in a full career were chased upon their other horse. And at the same time the lord Wilmott charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, (so dismal alterations the accidents of war introduce,) the whole entire body of the triumphant horse were so totally routed and dispersed that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious down; every man shifting for himself with greater danger, by the precipices of that hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was as ill for the pursuer; and after the rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their horses, down the precipices, than by the sword. The foot stood still firm, making show of a gallant

1643 resistance; but the lord Wilmott quickly seized their cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the Cornish foot, (who were by this come from the town,) were ready likewise to charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were charged on all sides, and either killed or taken prisoners, very few escaping, the Cornish retaining too fresh a memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves of those who had contributed the least thereunto. Sir William Waller himself, with a small train, fled into Bristol, which had sacrificed a great part of their garrison in his defeat, and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

119. This glorious day, for it was a day of triumph, redeemed the King's whole affairs, that all clouds that shadowed [them [1]] seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole kingdom. There were in this battle slain on the enemy's part above six hundred on the place; nine hundred prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed whom they had gathered up in their skirmishes and pursuit; with all their cannon, being eight pieces of brass ordnance, all their arms, ammunition, waggons, baggage, and victual; eight and twenty foot ensigns, and nine cornets; and all this by a party of fifteen hundred horse, with two small field-pieces, (for the victory was perfect, upon the matter, before the Cornish came up; though the foot were suffered to stand in a body uncharged, out of ceremony, till they came, that they might be refreshed with a share in the conquest,) against a body of full two thousand horse, five hundred dragoons, and near three thousand foot, with an excellent train of artillery. So that the Cornish had great reason to think their deliverance and victory at Roundway more signal and wonderful than the other at Stratton, save that the first might be thought the parent of the later; and the loss on the King's party was less; for in this there were slain very few, and of name none but Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young gentleman, who

[1] ['it,' MS.]

was always a volunteer with the lord Wilmott, and amongst the first upon any action of danger. 1643

120. Besides the present fruit of this victory, the King received an advantage from the jealousy that from thence grew amongst the officers of the Parliament armies. For sir William Waller believed himself to be absolutely betrayed and sacrificed by the earl of Essex, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse his glories; and complained that he, lying with his whole army within ten miles of Oxford, should suffer the whole strength of that place to march thirty miles to destroy him, without so much as sending out a party to follow them, or to alarum Oxford, by which they would have been probably recalled. On the other hand, the earl, disdaining to be thought his rival, reproached the other with unsoldierly neglects, and want of courage, to be beaten by a handful of men, and to have deserted his foot and cannon without engaging his own person in one charge against the enemy. Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven, but from the enmity that proceeded from thence the King often afterwards reaped very notable and seasonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places.

121[1]. This blessed defeat happened to be upon the same day, and about the same time of the day, when the King met the

[1] [The text is here taken up for this single section from the *Life*, p. 232. The *Hist.* is continued (at pp. 456–7) in the following unfinished passages:—

'This thirteenth of July was a day of perfect joy to the King; for at the same time and in the very hour that the lord Wilmott vanquished that army at Roundway-down, the King met and received his royal consort the Queen, to his unspeakable satisfaction, in that ground under Edgehill upon which the year before he had fought his first battle, her majesty having left the earl of Newcastle in a great likelihood of being entirely master of the north; whose actions there were so prosperous, and so full of notable accidents, that they deserve a history apart; and therefore I shall only insert such of them in this place [as] were most signal, and which had the greatest influence upon the series of the greatest affairs.

'Upon the Queen's arrival, (which is before set forth at large,) and the conversion of sir Hugh Cholmeley which ensued thereupon, the King's affairs in the north, which were in good growth and improvement before, flourished with notable vigour; and yet it must be confessed, the enemy in those parts, with whom the earl of Newcastle was to contend, in courage,

1643 Queen upon the field near [Keinton [1]] under Edgehill, where the battle had been fought in October before; and before their majesties came to Oxford they received the happy news of it. It is easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all men raising their fallen spirits to a height too proportionable, as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition; and this transportation to either extremes was too natural upon all the vicissitudes of the war; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the victory to some men, that it had been obtained under the command and conduct of Wilmott, who was very much in prince Rupert's disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favour with the King, but much beloved in all the good fellowship of the army, which was too great a body. It was now time for the King's army, victorious in so many encounters, to take the field; upon what enterprise, was the question. This overthrow of Waller had infinitely surprised, and increased the distractions at London. They had seen the copy of his warrants which his vanity had caused to be dispersed after the action at Lansdowne (in which he declared that he had routed the marquis his army, and was in pursuit of them, and therefore commanded the justices of peace and constables to give order for the apprehension of them, as they fled dispersed), and expected every day that the marquis would be sent up prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible army was defeated, and himself fled, upon the matter, alone, (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is,) brought them to their wits' end; [so] that they could little advance the recruiting the earl

vigilance, and insuperable industry, was not inferior to any who disquieted his majesty in any part of his dominions, and who pursued any advantage he got farther, and recovered any loss he underwent sooner, than any other in the kingdom: so that there were more sharp skirmishes and more notable battles in that one county of York than in all the kingdom besides, and less alteration upon them than could be expected; the lord Fairfax and his son with incredible activity reducing towns when they had an army, and when they were defeated in the field out of small towns recovering new armies. About'—*Here the narrative breaks off, the rest of p.* 457 *and the whole of p.* 458 *being left blank, for matter which was never added.*]

[1] ['Kempton,' MS.]

of Essex his army; who in his person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the earls of Northumberland and Holland, and the other who were most weary of the war and would be glad of peace upon easy terms[1]. 1643

[1] [The *Hist.* is here resumed, at p. 459; the *Life* continuing as follows:—

'There had been the winter before an unhappy design for the surprise of Bristol, upon intelligence with some citizens not maturely ripened, which being discovered, an alderman, and another citizen of good account, had been tried before a council of war, and executed in the streets, and many others had fled out of the city; which, though it disappointed the design, had exceedingly enraged a great part of the city, which longed to be freed from the yoke of servitude they were under. And now the strength of that garrison had been drawn out, and lost under Waller at Roundway, very few of them returning to Bristol; so that it seemed very counsellable to the King to make his first enterprise upon Bristol, where the little reputation the governor, Nathaniel Fynes, had in war, and the general prejudice the city and country had against him, made the attempt appear the more hopeful; and it was thereupon resolved accordingly. The marquis of Hartford, with prince Morrice, was to return to his western troops, who remained about the Devizes still, and with them to march to that side of Bristol which lay next to Somersetshire, and to quarter as near the city as conveniently they could, that nothing might go in or out. And prince Rupert was with the horse and foot of the King's army to march and quarter upon that side of the city that lies next Glostershire, to straiten it likewise as close as on the other side; and a day was agreed upon, that they might compute both armies might by that time be come to their several quarters, and then the generals on both parts might consult and conclude what was farther to be done for the attacking the town; and they did all meet accordingly.

'Upon a full conference, it was agreed that the next morning they would assault the city in several places at once, the marquis with his forces on that side on which he was quartered, and the prince on the other; the works on the Somersetshire side being much higher and stronger and the graff deeper than they were on the Glostershire side, where prince Rupert lay; and the very place assigned for the marquis his assault was much harder than many other places upon that line, which might with less danger and as much benefit have been entered; which made the Cornish (who use to say what they think) murmur loudly, that they were carried thither to be paid for the service they had done. On the western side, after a continued assault of near three hours, they were beaten off, and upon the matter quite gave over the assault, with a very great loss of common men and inferior officers of very good reputation. There fell likewise sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing and colonel Trevan[n]ion, the heads of the Cornish with sir Bevil Greenevill, and sir Brutus Bucke, colonel of the marquis his own regiment. Sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing was brought off the field, his thigh

1643 122. The King's army received a fair addition by the conjuncture with those forces which attended the Queen; for her

broken with a musket bullet, of which he died a fortnight after, when the King was in Bristol. He was a young gentleman of about 25 years of age, of a small stature, but very handsome and of a lovely countenance, of excellent parts and invincible courage. He was master of a fair estate in land, and had the government of Pendennis castle, and was vice-admiral of Castle[1]; both which offices and commands in so dexterous and active a hand were of infinite benefit to the King's service, he being a man well loved and obeyed, and there being an entire friendship between him, Greenvill, and Trevan[n]ion, with a firm conjunction with John Arrundell of Trerice, and his two sons John and Richard, both very active men and in command. Cornwall was quickly disposed to serve the King as soon as sir Ralph Hopton and the other gentlemen named before came into that county. He was of a very acceptable presence, great wit, and spake very well, and with notable vivacity, and was well believed by the people. He was in all the actions, and in all parties where there was action, in signal command, and never received hurt or wound till this last fatal assault. He told the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who visited him after the King came to Bristol, that he had always despised bullets, having been so used to them, and almost thought they could not hit him. He professed great joy and satisfaction in the losing his life in the King's service, to whom he had always dedicated it, and desired the Chancellor (with whom he had always friendship) to recommend his wife and his son (who was born the very day upon which he received his wound, at Pendennis castle) to the King's favour, and died the next day, to the great grief of all who knew him. Trevan[n]ion was about [the] same age, of 24 or 25 years, the eldest, if not the only, son of his father, sir Charles Trevan[n]ion, and newly married to the daughter of Arrundell of Trerice. He was a steady young man, of a good understanding, great courage, but of few words, yet what he said was always to the purpose. Both he and Slan[n]ing were members of the House of Commons, and the more abhorred the rebellion by having been present and observed by what foul artifices it had been promoted; and as they always gave what opposition they could to those practices whilst they remained there, so they were amongst the first who drew their swords to suppress them. Brutus Bucke was an old soldier, having been an officer of very good esteem in the voyage to Rochelle, and in the action at the Isle, and ever after lived in a command the King had given him in the Isle of Wight, with the reputation of a civil and a stout gentleman. He was killed in the head of his regiment with a musket bullet in the forehead, when he was getting upon the wall, and fell dead in the graff. He was a man generally beloved, and had no enemies.

1635. Apr. 17.

'On prince Rupert's side, where the line indeed was very weak and low, (but there were two or three high castles of earth, upon which store of cannon was planted with many musketeers, all which infested those who assaulted the line, which was otherwise slenderly guarded, but there was within the line a great space of meadow ground, upon which two or three

[1] [*sic*; qu. Cornwall?]

majesty brought with her above two thousand foot, well armed, 1643
and one thousand horse, with six pieces of cannon and two

regiments of horse might be drawn up, who might quickly have broken such foot as should enter the line,) the attack here was more prosperous and successful, though with the loss of many, and some very excellent persons. The line was entered in the weakest place, and where it was least guarded; and they who entered it easily made way for some horse to follow them, who quickly made the few horse which were placed within to give ground, and retire into the town, which raised confusion there; and some more of the horse and foot of the prince's likewise entered the line, and leaving those castles behind them, marched directly into the suburbs, where, the streets being narrow, many soldiers and officers were killed from the windows and tops of houses, which stopped their advance; and no doubt, if the governor had understood his business well, that party which was entered might very well have been driven back before any other could have come to their assistance. But the confusion within the town was very great, and the apprehension that the army was already entered, and that they should be all made a prey to the soldiers, if there were no articles made and conditions obtained for them, made the people so clamorous, that the governor yielded to their importunities, and sent a trumpet to the prince to treat upon surrender; which overture was easily accepted, and, upon hostages sent, colonel Gerard, a haughty young man, of a very different temper from col. Fynes, was sent to treat with him; he, talking loud to the people of firing the town if they did not forbear shooting[1] out of the windows, which they still continued to do, hectored the governor himself to such a temper that he forthwith gave orders to forbear all acts of hostility in all places, which the captains in the castles hardly obeyed, but still continued to shoot[1] and do much mischieve; and then concluded, upon the ordinary conditions, to march out of the town the next day with his troops, and to surrender the city to the King; which was done accordingly, to the no small joy of the commanders.

'Of the prince's side there fell that day many good officers, amongst which were colonel Harry Lunsford, and his lieutenant colonel Nathaniel Moyle, both officers of the first rank in their reputation of courage and conduct, and were both killed out of a window when they had entered the suburbs, the former dead upon the place, the other lived near a month and then died. Colonel John Bellasis had a hurt of a very strange nature, and worth the mentioning, being a gallant gentleman, of much honour and courage, as he was marching in the head of his regiment of foot, with his sword drawn in his hand; upon which a musket bullet struck the flat of the blade with such force that it bowed like a bow, and remaining still in his hand was driven upon his forehead, that he fell to the ground, but rose presently of himself without help, and seeing no blood he believed the hurt not considerable, and continued in his business. But he found it necessary within less than an hour to be carried off, his head with the contusion for many days swelling to that prodigious proportion that when the King came to Bristol and the Chancellor of the Exchequer went to see him, he knew

[1] ['suting,' 'sute,' MS.]

1643 mortars, and about one hundred waggons. So that as soon as their majesties came to Oxford, the earl of Essex, (who had spent his time about T[h]ame and Aylesbury, without any action after that skirmish in which Mr. Hambden was slain, save by small parties, of which there was none of name or note,
July 2. but one handsome smart conflict[1] between a party of five hun-

not who he was, there being no appearance of eyes or nose; so that it was thought trepanning would be the only way to preserve him, and that not a certain one; but he, having his senses very perfect, would not endure so rude a remedy; and after the swelling was at the height, it declined and sunk as fast; and when the army removed from Bristol, was well enough, and attended his charge in it, without any mark or blemish. The lord viscount Grandison was then likewise wounded with a musket-shot in the leg, of which, though he was carried to Oxford and thought past danger, he died two months after[2]. He was a very beautiful person, of great virtue and eminent courage, and of manners not to be corrupted. He was a very great loss, when the age stood in need of such examples, and was particularly lamented by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with very vehement passion, there being a most entire friendship between them for many years without any intermission.

'The town being thus happily taken, (though the price that was paid for it was grievous,) the old embers of jealousy and discontent, which had been lightly raked up and covered, between the two princes and the marquis of Hartford, broke out now into a flame. The town was within the marquis his commission, and so he concluded that the government was in his disposal, and designed it to sir Ralph Hopton, who by this time was past all danger, and in all respects was preferable to any man that could be named. On the other side, prince Rupert believed the right of conferring it to be in him, since it was taken by the forces under his command when those under the marquis were beaten off, and he had a purpose to confer it upon sir Arthur Aston, who had been governor of Reading, and lost much reputation there in respect of his nature and manners, not of his soldiery, which stood as it did before. But when the prince had thought better of his own power, and weighed the difference between sir Ralph Hopton and sir Arthur Aston in the eyes of the world, he changed his purpose, and both the prince and the marquis sending expresses to give the King notice of the success, the prince made it his humble suit to the King that his majesty would bestow the government of Bristol upon his highness; and the marquis, after he had given an account of the taking the town, in which he gave all the attributes to the prince which were due to him, he told the King that he had conferred the government upon sir Ralph Hopton, which he knew his majesty would approve, since no man could be so fit for it, nor had deserved better from his majesty.'—The remainder of this relation, containing an account of the King's visit to Bristol, is inserted in the printed editions of the *Life*.]

[1] [At Padbury, near Buckingham.]

[2] [See note on p. 114.]

dred horse and dragoons, commanded by colonel Middleton, a 1643
Scotchman, on the Parliament party, and a regiment of horse, commanded by sir Charles Lucas, on the King's; where, after very soldierly contests, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such actions, the King's party prevailed, returning with some prisoners of name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their enemy, not without good loss of their own:) retired with his army broken, and disheartened, to Uxbridge, giving over any thought of fighting with the King till he should be recruited with horse, men, and money; and suffering no less in the talk of the people, (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse,) for not interposing to hinder the Queen's march to Oxford and joining with the King, than for sitting still so near Oxford, whilst the lord Wilmott went from thence to the ruin of sir William Waller.

123. After which defeat, the lord Wilmott retired to Oxford to attend his majesty; and the Cornish army (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the marquis and prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of Bath, which was quitted upon the overthrow of Waller, that garrison being withdrawn to reinforce Bristol. At Bath they rested and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the state he was in, and the broken condition of the enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the city of Bristol; to which prince Rupert was most inclined, for being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the King's service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent citizens. And the disesteem generally of the courage of Nathaniel Fynes, the governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable. And so the marquis and prince Morrice returned to Bath, upon agreement to appear on such a day with their whole strength before Bristol, on the Somersetshire side, when prince Rupert with the Oxford forces would appear before it on the Glostershire side.

124. On the four and twentieth of July both armies sat July 24.
down before it, quartering their horse in that manner that

1643 none could go out or in to the city without great hazard of being taken, and the same day, with the assistance of some seamen who were prepared before, seized all the ships that were in King-road; which were not only laden with things of great value, as plate, money, and the best sort of all commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent aboard, but with many persons of quality, who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a siege, thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to London; who were all taken prisoners.

July 25. The next day prince Rupert came to his brother and the marquis, and a general council of all the principal officers of both armies being assembled, it was debated in what manner they should proceed, by assault or approach.

125. There were in the town five and twenty hundred foot, and a regiment of horse and dragoons. The line about the town was finished, yet in some places the graff was wider and deeper than in other. Then the castle within the town was very well repaired, and supplied with great store of provisions to endure a siege. The opinions were several. The officers of the Cornish were of opinion that it was best to proceed by way of approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no army of the enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best; whereas the works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many men, and if they were beaten off all their summer hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy again to make up the spirit of the army for a new action. Besides, they alleged the well affected party in the city, which was believed to be very great, would, after they had been closely besieged three or four days, have a greater influence upon the soldier, and be able to do more towards the surrender than they could upon a storm, when they would be equally sensible of the disorder of the soldier, and their own damage by plunder, as the other; and the two late examples of the executed citizens would keep men from offering at any insurrection in the city.

126. On the other hand, prince Rupert, and all the officers of his army, very earnestly desired to assault it; alleged the work

to be easy, and the soldiers fitter for any brisk attempt than a dull patient design, and that the army would be more weakened by the latter than the former: that the city, not having yet recovered the consternation of sir William Waller's defeat, was so full of horror that it would make a very weak defence: that there was no soldier of experience in the town, and the governor himself not like to endure the terror of a storm: whereas, if they gave them time to consider, and to look long upon them with a wall between, they would grow confirmed and resolute, and courage would supply the place of skill; and having plenty of all kinds of provisions within the town, they would grow strong and peremptory, whilst the besiegers grew less vigorous and disheartened. These reasons, and the prince's importunity, with some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the town that must not be mentioned, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to on all parts to assault the town the next morning, at three places on the Somersetshire side, and at three places on the Glostershire side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, without any circumstances, were in themselves reasonable. For the Glostershire side, where prince Rupert was, might be stormed, the graff being shallow, and the wall in some places low and weak, which could not be easily approached, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlooked the ground. On the other side the ground was very easy to approach, and as inconvenient and dangerous to storm, by reason of a plain level before the line, and a broad and deep graff, and the line throughout better flankered than the other. 1643

127. The next morning, with no other provisions fit for such a work but the courage of the assailants, both armies fell on. On the west side, where the Cornish were, they assaulted the line in three places; one division led by sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing, assisted with colonel John Trevan[n]ion, lieutenant colonel Slingsby, and three more field officers; too great a number of such officers to conduct so small a party as five hundred men, if July 26.

1643 there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger and appetite of glory. Another division, on the right hand, was led by colonel Bucke, assisted by colonel Wagstaffe, colonel Bernard Ashley, who commanded the regiment of the lord marquis Hartford, with other officers of the field: and the third division, on the left hand, led by sir Thomas Basset, who was major general of the Cornish. These three divisions fell on together, with that courage and resolution as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it that some mounted the wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the common soldiers, after their chief officers were killed or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

128. On prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division, led on by the lord Grandison, colonel general of the foot, was beaten off, the lord Grandison himself being hurt, and the other, led by colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune, yet colonel Washington, with a less party, finding a place in the curtain, between the places assaulted by the other two, weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow. The enemy, as soon as they saw their line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by command of their officers, quit their posts; so that the prince entered with his foot and horse into the suburbs, sending for one thousand of the Cornish foot, which were presently sent to second him, and marched up to Froomegate, losing many men, and some very good officers, by shot from the walls and windows; insomuch as all men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had a more difficult entrance into the town than they had yet passed, and where their horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of generals and soldiers, the city beat a parley; which the prince willingly embracing, and getting their hostages into his hands, sent colonel Gerard and another officer to the governor to treat. The treaty began about two of the clock in the after-

noon, and before ten at night these articles were agreed on, and signed by all parties : 1643

129. 1.[1] 'That the governor, Nathaniel Fiennes, together with all the officers both of horse and foot now within and about the city of Bristol, castle, and forts, may march out to-morrow morning by nine of the clock, with their full arms, bag and baggage, provided it be their own goods : and that the common foot soldiers march out without arms, and the troopers with their horses and swords, leaving their other arms behind them, with a safe convoy to Warmi[n]ster ; and after, not to be molested in their march by any of the King's forces for the space of three days.

2. 'That there may be carriages allowed and provided to carry away their bag and baggage, and sick and hurt soldiers.

3. 'That the King's forces march not into the town till the Parliament forces are marched out ; which is [to be] at nine of the clock.

4. 'That all prisoners in the city be delivered up; and that captain Eyres and captain Cookin, who were taken at the Devizes, be released.

5. 'That sir John Horner, sir John Seymour, Mr. Edward Stevens, and all other knights, gentlemen, citizens, and other persons, that are now in the city, may, if they please, with their goods, wives, and families, bag and baggage, have free liberty to return to their own homes, or elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride and travel with the governor and forces : and such of them and their families as shall be left behind, by reason of sickness or other cause, may have liberty, so soon as they can conveniently, to depart this town with safety ; provided that all the gentlemen and other persons shall have three days' liberty to reside here, or depart with their goods, which they please.

6. 'That all the inhabitants of the city shall be secured in their persons, families, and estates, free from plundering and all other violence or wrong whatsoever.

7. 'That the charters and liberties of this city may be preserved ; and that the ancient government thereof, and present governors and officers, may remain and continue in their former condition, according to his majesty's charters and pleasure.

8. 'That, for avoiding inconveniences and distractions, the quartering of soldiers be referred or left to the mayor and governor of the same city for the time being.

9. 'That all such as have carried any goods into the castle may have free liberty to carry the same forth.

10. 'That the forces that are to march out are to leave behind them all cannon and ammunition, with their colours, and such arms as is before expressed.'

130. The next morning, if not before, (for the truth is, from the time that the treaty was first offered they in the town kept no guards, nor observed any order, but their soldiers ran away July 27.

[1] [These articles are not in Clarendon's handwriting. Hence the variation in the spelling of the name of *Fiennes* from the form used by him.]

1643 to the prince, and many of his soldiers went into the town,) his highness was possessed of Bristol, the enemy then marching away. Here the ill example at Reading, in the breach of the articles, was remembered, and unhappily followed; for all that garrison was now here; so that they, with some colour of right or retaliation, and the rest by their example, used great license to the soldiers who should have been safely conducted; which reflected much upon the prince, though he used his utmost power to suppress it, and charged colonel Fynes to be accessary to his own wrong, by marching out of the town an hour before his appointment, and thereby his convoy was not ready, and at another gate than was appointed and agreed upon. And as the articles were thus unhappily violated to those who went away, so they were not enough observed to those who stayed, and to the city itself: for many of colonel Fynes' soldiers taking conditions, and entering with the King's army, instructed their new friends who were most disaffected; so that one whole street upon the bridge, the inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of malignity, though no doubt there were many honest men amongst them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little justice done upon the transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the officers, and more discredited the King's forces and his cause than was then taken notice of or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave Fabricius, *qui aliquod esse crederet et*[*iam*] *in hostem nefas*[1]. I wish I could excuse those swervings from justice and right, which were too frequently practised against contracts, under the notion that they with whom they were made were rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed, all the ingenuity and integrity in the propugners of it to keep despair from the guilty, who were by much too numerous for the innocent.

131. This reduction of Bristol was a full tide of prosperity to the King, and made him master of the second city of his kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest counties of the kingdom, (for the rebels had now no

[1] [Seneca, *Epist.* CXX. 'aliquid,' MS.]

standing garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of Somersetshire,) and rendered Wales (which was before well affected, except some towns in Pembrokeshire) more useful to him, being freed of the fear of Bristol, and consequently of the charge that always attends those fears, and restored to the trade with Bristol, which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the King might very well have said what king Pyrrhus heretofore did, after his second battle by the city of Asculum with the Romans, where he won the victory; '*If we win another at the price, we are utterly undone*[1].' And truly his majesty's loss before this town was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several assaults, of common men, (but such as were tried and incomparable foot,) about five hundred, and abundance of excellent officers, whereof many were of prime command and quality. 1643.

132. On the Cornish side fell, besides major Kendall, and many other inferior officers, excellent in their degree, colonel Bucke, a modest and a stout commander, and of good experience in war, who, having got over the graff and even to the top of the wall, was knocked down with a halbert, and perished in the graff; sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing, and colonel John Trevan[n]ion the life and soul of the Cornish regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who, being led by no impulsion but of conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great conductors, (for they both were of the House of Commons,) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition, and as soon as sir Ralph Hopton and those other gentlemen came into Cornwall joined with them; and being both of singular reputation and good fortunes there, the one in possession, the other in reversion after his father, they engaged their persons and estates in the service, rather doing great things than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and descending to all capacities, for removing all obstructions which accidentally arose amongst those who could only prosper by being of one mind. Sir Nicholas Slan[n]ing was governor of Pendennis

[1] [Plutarch in *Vit. Pyrrhi.*]

1643 castle, upon the credit and security whereof the King's party in that county first depended, and, by the command it had of the harbour of Falmouth, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning wit, a staid and solid judgment, a gentle and most obliging behaviour, and a courage so clear and keen that, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable. They were both very young, neither of them above eight and twenty, of entire friendship to one another and to sir Bevil Greenevill, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with a musket bullet, their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the royal sacrifice of their sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good men's; and, (that which is a greater solemnity to their memories,) as it fares with most great and virtuous men whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented as the accidents in the public affairs made the courage and fidelity of the Cornish of greatest signification to the cause.

133. On the north side, of prince Rupert's army, fell very many good officers, the chief of whom was colonel Harry Lunsford, an officer of extraordinary sobriety, industry, and courage; by whom his excellent lieutenant colonel Moyle was likewise hurt, and died within few days; both shot out of a window after they had entered the suburbs. There were hurt, the lord viscount Grandison, nephew to the great duke of Buckingham, who was colonel general of the King's foot; colonel John Bellasis, (since lord Bellasis;) colonel Bernard Ashley; colonel sir John Owen; and many other officers of name; of whom none of quality died of their wounds but the lord Grandison [1], whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a lover of justice and integrity

[1] ['Sept. 29. The Lord Grandison dyed in Oxford at Jesus colledge of the fever.' Dugdale's *Diary*, 1827, p. 55. 'Sub finem Aug.;' epitaph in Ch. Ch. cathedral, put up after 1670.]

that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this war, 1643
could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it; and of that rare piety and devotion that the court or camp could not shew a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves. His personal valour, and courage of all kinds, (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels,) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person. His affection and zeal and obedience to the King was such as became a branch of that family; and he was wont to say, 'that, if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty enough to inform him of the duty of a subject, the [1] very obligations of gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his house, were such as his life was but a due sacrifice:' and therefore he no sooner saw the war unavoidable than he engaged all his brethren as well as himself in the service, and there were then three more of them in command in the army when he was so unfortunately cut off.

134. As soon as the news of the taking of Bristol came to the King at Oxford, after a solemn thanksgiving to God for the success, which was immediately and publicly performed, his majesty assembled his Privy-Council, to consider how this great blessing in war might be applied to the procuring a happy peace, and that this might be the last town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident that as this last victory added great lustre and beauty to the whole face of his affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness and be an ominous presage to the Parliament; where the jealousies and apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

135. Upon news of the lord Fairfax's being defeated in the north [2], they resolved presently to send a committee of the two July 5.
Houses into Scotland, to desire their brethren of that kingdom presently to advance with an army for their relief; which was

[1] ['that the,' MS.]

[2] [At Atherton Moor, June 30.]

1643 thought so desperate a cure, that, the Lords naming the earl of
July 11. Rutland and lord Grey of Warke for that ambassy, the earl
July 19. upon indisposition of health procured a release, and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on
July 17. him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it that he was committed to the Tower; and in the end they were compelled to depute only commoners to that service: and so sir William Armyn, young sir Harry Vane, and two more, assisted with
July 12. Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, two of their powerful clergy, were
July 20. embarked in that negociation; upon which they who sent them were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied that they should be driven to bring in foreign forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the King, that there was, (some few desperate persons only excepted,) even a universal desire of peace; and the earl of Essex himself, writing to the Speaker of the House of Commons of the defects in his army, and of his wants of horse, men, and money, advised that they
July 9. would think of sending some reasonable propositions to the King for the procuring a safe peace; which being the first intimation he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity and correspondence with those lords who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad
July 28. apprehensions; which were increased by some severe messages they received from him, for a vindication from the foul aspersions and calumnies which were generally and publicly laid on him for his unactivity after the winning of Reading, whilst the Queen marched securely to Oxford and sir William Waller was destroyed; as if he would think of some way of righting himself, if they were not sensible on his behalf.

136. How to work upon these discomposed humours, and to reduce them to such temper that they might consent to the kingdom's peace, was the argument of the King's consultations: but by what expedient to promote this, was the difficulty. After the breach of the last treaty, and when the King had in vain laboured to revive it, and could not procure any answer from them to his last messages, but instead thereof his messenger imprisoned, tried before a council of war for his life, and

still in custody, and a declaration that whosoever should be employed by his majesty on any message to them without their leave should be proceeded against as a spy, (so that though they pretended to be his Great Council, they, upon the matter, now protested against any relation to his majesty,) he advised with his Council what might be fit for him to do to lessen the reverence and reputation of them with the people: for the superstition towards the name of a Parliament was so general, that the King had wisely forborne to charge the two Houses with the treason and rebellion that was raised, but imputed it to particular persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion that all the members who stayed there, and sat in either House, being guilty of so many treasonable acts, that thereby the Parliament was actually dissolved, by the same reason as a corporation by great misdemeanour and crime might forfeit their charter; and therefore that the King should by his proclamation declare the dissolution of it, and then consider whether it were fit to call another. But this opinion was generally disliked; both because it was conceived not to be just, for the treason of those who were present could not forfeit the right of those who were away, neither was it evident that all present consented to the ill that was done; and the King's declaring a Parliament to be dissolved contrary to an Act of Parliament was believed would prove an act so ungracious to the people for the consequences of it, that the King would be an exceeding loser by such an attempt, and that many, in such a case, would return thither who out of conscience had withdrawn from that assembly. 1643

137. In conclusion, the advice was unanimous that his majesty should declare the orders and proceedings of one or both Houses to be void, by reason the members did not enjoy the freedom and liberty of Parliament, and therefore require his good subjects no longer to be misled by them: and to that purpose the King had issued his proclamation six weeks before this happy turn in his affairs; so that he could not now send a message to them as to two Houses of Parliament, lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of them, which was concluded June 20.

1643 to be both regular and just. Upon the whole matter, lest his majesty might be understood to be so much elated with his good successes and the increase of his strength that he aimed at no less than a perfect victory, and the ruin of those who had incensed him, (by which insinuations they who could not forgive themselves endeavoured to make all others desperate,) he was resolved to publish such a Declaration to the whole kingdom that both Houses and army could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any overtures to him towards an atonement. And to that pur-
July 30. pose, the next day after he received the assurance of the taking of Bristol, his majesty published this ensuing Declaration; which being short, I shall enter in his own words.

138. *His majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects, after his victories over the lord Fairfax in the north, sir William Waller in the west, and the taking of Bristol by his majesty's forces.*

'As the grievances and losses of no particular persons, since these miserable bloody distempers have disquieted this poor kingdom, can be compared to the loss and damage we ourself have sustained, there having been no victory obtained but in the blood of our own subjects, nor no rapine or violence committed but to the impoverishment and ruin of our own people; so, a blessed and happy peace cannot be so acceptable and welcome to any man as to us. Almighty God, to whom all the secrets of our heart are open, who hath so often and so miraculously preserved us, and to whose power alone we must attribute the goodness of our present condition, (how unhappy soever it is with reference to the public calamities,) knows with what unwillingness, with what anguish of soul, we submitted ourself to the necessity of taking up defensive arms. And the world knows with what justice and bounty we had repaired our subjects, for all the pressures and inconveniences they had borne, by such excellent laws as would for ever have prevented the like; and with what earnestness and importunity we desired to add any thing for the establishment of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom. How all these have been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed, by faction, sedition, and treason, by those who have neither reverence to God or affection to men, but have sacrificed both to their own ends and ambition, is now so evident, that we hope, as God hath wonderfully manifested his care of us and his defence of his and our most just cause, so he hath so far touched the hearts of our people, that their eyes are at last opened to see how miserably they have been seduced, and to abhor those persons whose malice and subtlety have seduced them, to dishonour him, to rebel against us, and to bring much misery and calamity upon their native country.

139. 'We well remember the protestation voluntarily made by us in the head of that small army we were master of in September last, to defend and

maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, and if it should please God, 1643
by his blessing upon that army, to preserve us from this rebellion, that we would maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known laws of the land; for whose defence, in truth, that army was only raised, and hath been since kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable time to renew that protestation than now, when God hath vouchsafed us so many victories and successes, and hath rendered the power of those who seek to destroy us less formidable than it hath been, (so that we shall probably not fall under the scandalous imputation which hath usually attended our messages of peace, that they proceed from the weakness of our power, not love of our people,) and when there is more freedom in many counties for our good subjects to receive true information of their own and our condition; the knowledge whereof hath been, with equal industry and injustice, kept from them, as other acts of cruelty have been imposed on them.

140. 'We do therefore declare to all the world, in the presence of Almighty God, to whom we must give a strict account of all our professions and protestations, that we are so far from intending any alteration of the religion established, (as hath been often falsely, scandalously, and against the conscience of the contrivers themselves of that rumour, suggested to our people,) or from the least thought of invading the liberty and property of the subject, or violating the just privileges of Parliament, that we call that God to witness who hath covered our head in the day of battle that we desire from our soul, and shall always use our utmost endeavour, to preserve and advance the true reformed Protestant religion established in the Church of England, in which we were born, have faithfully lived, and, by the grace of God, shall resolutely die: that the preservation of the liberty and property of the subject, in the due observation of the known laws of the land, shall be equally our care as the maintenance of our own rights; we desiring to govern only by those good laws which, till they were oppressed by this odious rebellion, preserved this nation happy. And we do acknowledge the just privileges of Parliament to be an essential part of those laws, and shall therefore most solemnly defend and observe them. So that, in truth, if either religion, law, or liberty, be precious to our people, they will, by their submission to us, join with us in the defence of them, and thereby establish that peace by which only they can flourish and be enjoyed.

141. 'Whether these men that be professed enemies to the established ecclesiastical government, who reproach and persecute the learned orthodox ministers of the Church, and into their places put ignorant, seditious, and schismatical preachers, who vilify the Book of Common Prayer, and impiously profane God's worship with their scurrilous and seditious demeanour, are like to advance that religion; whether those men who boldly, and without the least shadow or colour of law, impose insupportable taxes and odious excises upon their fellow subjects, imprison, torment, and murder them, are like to preserve the liberty and property of the subject: and whether those men who seize and possess themselves of our own unquestionable revenue and our just rights, have denied us our negative voice, have by force and violence awed and terrified the members of both Houses, and, lastly, have, as far as in them lies, dissolved the present Par-

1643 liament, by driving away and imprisoning the members, and resolving the whole power thereof, and more, into a committee of a few men, contrary to all law, custom, or president, are like to vindicate and uphold the privileges of Parliament, all the world may judge.

142. 'We do therefore once more conjure our good subjects, by their memory of that excellent peace and firm happiness with which it pleased God to reward their duty and loyalty in time past; by their oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which no vow or covenant contrived and administered to and by themselves can cancel or evade; by whatsoever is dear and precious unto them in this life, or hoped or prayed for in the life to come; that they will remember their duty and consider their interest, and no longer suffer themselves to be misled, their prince dishonoured, and their country wasted and undone, by the malice and cunning of these state impostors, who, under pretence of reformation, would introduce whatsoever is monstrous and unnatural both to religion and policy: but that they rather choose quietly to enjoy their religion, property, and liberty, founded and provided for by the wisdom and industry of former times, and secured and enlarged by the blessings upon the present age, than to spend their lives and fortunes to purchase confusion, and to make themselves liable to the most intolerable kind of slavery, that is, to be slaves to their fellow subjects; who, by their prodigious unheard of acts of oppression and tyranny, have given them sufficient evidence what they are to expect at their hands.

143. 'And let not our good people, who have been misled, or, through want of understanding or want of courage, submitted themselves to unwarrantable and disloyal actions, be taught by these seducers that their safety now consists in despair, and that they can only secure themselves for the ills they have done by a resolute and peremptory disobedience. Revenge and blood-thirstiness have never been imputed to us by those who have left neither our government or nature unexamined with the greatest boldness and malice. And all those who, since those bloody distractions, out of conscience have returned from their evil ways to us, have found that it was not so easy for them to repent as to us to forgive. And whosoever hath been misled by those whose hearts from the beginning have designed all this mischief, and shall redeem their past crimes by their present service and loyalty in the apprehending or opposing such who shall continue to bear arms against us, and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce those men to their due obedience, and to restore this kingdom to its wonted peace, shall have cause to magnify our mercy, and to repent the trespasses committed against so just and gracious a sovereign. Lastly, we desire all our good subjects who have really assisted, or really wished us well, now God hath done such wonderful things for us, vigorously to endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, by bringing in men, money, plate, horses, or arms, to our aid; that so we, being not wanting to ourselves, may with confidence expect the continuance of God's favour, to restore us all to that blessed harmony of affections which may establish a firm peace; without the speedy obtaining of which, this poor kingdom will be utterly undone, though not absolutely lost.'

144. What effect this proclamation produced, at least what

accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, we shall have 1643
occasion anon to remember, when we have first remembered some unfortunate passages which accompanied this prosperity on the King's part; for the sunshine of his conquest was somewhat clouded, not only by the number and quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not from the beginning that conformity of humour and inclinations between the two princes and the marquis of Hartford, as had been to be wished between all persons of honour who were engaged in a quarrel that could never prosper but by the union of the undertakers. Prince Morrice, and, on his behalf, (or rather the other by his impulsion,) prince Rupert, taking to heart, that a nephew of the King's should be lieutenant general to the marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a soldier, nor even now punctually studied the office of a general: on the other hand, the marquis, who was of the most gentle nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be, liked not the prince's assuming to himself more than became a lieutenant general, and sometimes crossing acts of his with relation to the governing and disposing the affairs of the country, in which he knew himself better versed than the prince; and when Bristol was taken, where the marquis took himself to command in chief, being a town particularly within his commission, and of which he was besides lord lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used that prince Rupert had not only entered into the treaty without his advice, but concluded the articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the princes, the marquis declared that he would give the government of that city to sir Ralph Hopton. Prince Rupert, on the other hand, conceived the town won by him, being entered on that side in which he commanded absolutely, and the Cornish on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the command and government of it wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the

1643 resolution of the marquis concerning sir Ralph Hopton, who was not to be put into the scale with any private man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders, and by the same messenger by whom he advertised his majesty of the good success, he desired that he would bestow the government of that city, reduced by him, upon himself; the which the King readily consented to, not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an express arrived likewise from the marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his lordship had designed sir Ralph Hopton to be governor of the new-got city.

145. Then, and not before, the King understood what strait he was in, and was exceedingly perplexed to find an expedient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his title to dispose the government was very just: so he had a very just esteem of the marquis, who had served him with all fidelity, and who clearly declared himself for him when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his majesty: and it could not be denied, no subject's affection and loyalty gave a greater lustre to the King's cause than that of the marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite moment was the nominating sir Ralph Hopton, who, as he was a person of high merit from the King, so he was the most gracious and popular to that city and the country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the King's nature, and his politic foresight into his affairs. And, as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad of whatsoever he should determine, he found the minds and affections of his own Court and Council with more passion than ordinary ready to deliver their opinions. The marquis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be so, his interest and reputation in the kingdom was thought a wonderful consideration in the King's business: and many were very much troubled to see prince Rupert, whose activity and courage in the field they

thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the 1643
second city of the kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the civil government as such a command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend, and this, as it were, in contempt of one of the prime noblemen of the kingdom, to which order the prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought the King was, by counsel and precept, to reform and soften the prince's understanding and humour, and to persuade him, in compliance with his service, to decline the contest, and suffer the marquis to proceed in his disposition, which on all parts was acknowledged to be most fitly designed.

146. Others again were of opinion, that the right of disposing the command to whomsoever he thought fit entirely belonged to prince Rupert, and therefore (besides that the King had by the same messenger who brought the suit returned his consent) that he could not be reasonably refused when he desired it for himself; which would take away all possible imagination of disrespect from sir Ralph Hopton, who could not take it ill that the prince himself had taken a command that was designed to him: that the eyes of the army were upon his highness, whose name was grown a terror to the enemy, as his courage and conduct had been very prosperous to the King; and if, after so happy and glorious an achievement, he should now receive a repulse in so reasonable a pretence, though it would not lessen his own duty or alacrity in the service, it might have an unhappy influence upon his reputation and interest in the army, which could receive no diminution without apparent damage to his majesty: and therefore that some means should be used to the marquis to waive his title, and to consent that the prince should enjoy his desires. So that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and alter either, seemed, and indeed were, passionately engaged against the thing they were to persuade. So that the King discerned that all depended upon his own royal wisdom; and therefore resolved to take a journey in his own person to Bristol, and there to give such a rule as he should find most

1643 necessary, to which he presumed both persons would conform themselves, as well cordially as obediently.

147. That which the King proposed to himself was, to gratify his nephew with the name, and the marquis by making sir Ralph Hopton enjoy the thing, upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, (as in truth it was,) most exactly free from interrupting the least public service by private ends or thoughts, other men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him which himself apprehended not; and therefore that he was not only in his own princely mind to retain a very gracious sense of his service, but to give evidence to all men
Aug. 2. that he did so. And so after he had made a[1] joyful entrance into Bristol, which was performed with all decent solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the marquis, and in private desired him to consent that he might perform his promise to his nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his lordship otherwise had determined of it, without speaking at all of any other title he had to it but by his majesty's promise, he established prince Rupert in the government of Bristol, who immediately sent a commission to sir Ralph Hopton, (who was now so well recovered that he walked into the air,) to be his lieutenant governor; signifying likewise to him, by a confidant who passed between them, that though he was now engaged for some time, (which should not be long,) to keep the superior title himself, he would not at all meddle in the government, but that he should be as absolute in it as if the original commission had been granted to him.

148. Sir Ralph Hopton, who was exceedingly sorry that his name was at all used and exposed as an argument of difference and misunderstanding between persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the debate, did in truth object him to the full envy of one party. For the marquis (who by the King's persuasions was rather quieted than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to

[1] ['very,' *struck out in the MS.*]

expect that he would refuse the commission from prince Rupert, both as he might be thought to comply in an injury done to the marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the command now given him was inferior to what the marquis, who had the power of disposal, had conferred on him; and so that he should vindicate that title which the King himself was loath to give a judgment upon. And he was the more troubled, because he found that by submitting to this charge he should by some be thought to have deserted the marquis, out of a kind of revenge for his having defeated the enterprise when he chose, the last year, rather to go into Wales than Cornwall, and deserting him again now, when he brought all new officers to command the army over their heads who had raised it and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, (as is before remembered,) was done by his own advice as well as his full consent; and the latter he well knew was rather to be imputed to prince Morrice than to his lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this commission, with what specious circumstances of duty and submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable disturbances and interruptions in the King's affairs, and that the marquis, to common understanding, had, to obey the King, declined the contestation, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischieve that attended, would be imputed to his particular account. Besides that he had always borne an avowed and declared reverence to the Queen of Bohemia and her children, whom he had personally and actively served in their wars whilst they maintained any, and for whose honour and restitution he had been a zealous and known champion. And therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful prince of that house, upon whom our own hopes seemed so much to depend. So that he resolved, (according to his rare temper throughout this war,) to let him whom he professed to serve choose [1] in what kind he would be served 1643

[1] ['to choose,' MS.]

1643 by him, and cheerfully received the commission from prince Rupert; upon which all discourse or debate of difference was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained.

149. The King found it now high time to resolve to what action next to dispose his armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that season unfortunately lost) had more weakened than refreshed them, having not lost more men by storming the city than were afterwards by plundering it; those shoulders which had warmed themselves with the burden of pillage never quickly again submitting to the carriage of their arms.

150. The question was first, whether both armies should be united, and march in one upon the next design? And then, what that design should be? Against the first there were many allegations.

151. 1. The condition of the west: Dorsetshire and Devonshire were entirely possessed by the enemy; for though sir John Barkely with a daring party kept Exciter, and colonel John Digby the north part (which was notoriously disaffected), from joining with Plimmoth, which would else quickly have grown into an army strong enough to infest Cornwall, yet they had no place to retire to upon distress; and all the ports upon the western coasts were garrisoned by them, which, upon the fame of the approach of the King's forces, and the loss of Bristol, might probably be without much resistance reduced.

152. 2. The Cornish army was greater in reputation than numbers, having lost many at Lansdowne and the assault of Bristol, and by the death of their chief officers very many were run away since; besides, they pretended some promise made to their country, which they conceived not to be enough secured against Plimmoth, of returning speedily for the reduction of that town; so that if they were compelled to march eastwards, to which they were not inclined, it was to be doubted they would moulder so fast away that there would be little addition of strength by it. Whereas if they marched westward, it

would be no hard matter to gather up those who were returned, 1643
and to be strong enough in a very short time by new levies for any enterprise should be thought reasonable to be undertaken. To which was added, that, having lost those officers whom they loved and feared, and whose reverence restrained their natural distempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny, and had expressed a peremptory aversion to the joining and marching with the King's army. And the truth is, their humours were not very gentle and agreeable, and apt to think that their prowess was not enough recompensed or valued. For though the King affected to make all possible demonstrations to them of an extraordinary high esteem he had of their wonderful fidelity and courage, yet he was able to procure very little money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been trained, (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune,) and an honest pride in their own natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile arts which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

153. 3. The great number of the King's horse; which was so glorious a body, that when that part of it which was joined to the Cornish was away, he should march with at least six thousand horse, which were as many as would be able to live on any country within a due distance of quartering.

154. 4. Lastly, some correspondence with the chief gentlemen of Dorsetshire, who were ready to join with any considerable party for the King, and had some probable hopes that the small garrisons upon the coast would not make a tedious resistance.

155. There was another reason, which was not given; that, if both armies had been kneaded into one, prince Morrice could have been but a private colonel. But there were enough besides to satisfy the King to keep them divided; and so he gave order to the earl of Carnarvon to advance towards Dorchester (the chief town in that county, and the most malignant in England, where the rebels had a garrison) with the horse and dragoons, and the next day to prince Morrice to

1643 march after with the foot and cannon; his majesty keeping with him the marquis of Hartford to attend his own person. For though he well saw he should undergo some inconveniences by withdrawing the marquis from that employment, the opinion of the soundness of his religion and integrity of his justice rendering him by much the most popular man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his lordship, upon whose honour and affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his crown upon his fidelity as upon any man's in his three kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the prince and the marquis would never agree together, and that there were persons about them who would foment their indispositions to each other with any hazard to his service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his people by the power of his army than by the persuasions of his Council, and that the roughness of the one's nature might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the prince on that employment, using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favour, from the marquis's mind; his majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his counsels, and the true grounds of his resolution, and declaring to him that he would make him a gentleman of his bedchamber and groom of his stool, and that he would always have his company and advice about him. With which the marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

156. And truly many wise and honest men were sorry for the King's election; and though the marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had superinduced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive constitution nor the great endowments of his mind, (for he was a good scholar, and had a good judgment,) and less to the temper of this time and the office of a general, insomuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information, of those who had narrower and

more vulgar thoughts than suited with his honour, and were not worthy of such a trust; yet they thought the prince's full inexperience of the customs and manners of England, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controlled. And I am of opinion, that if the prince had waited on his majesty in that army, and never interposed in any command not purely martial, and the marquis been sent with those forces into the west with the lord Hopton, (who was now to be left at Bristol to intend his health, and to form that new garrison, which was to be a magazine for men, arms, ammunition, and all that was wanted,) and some other steady persons, who might have been assigned to special provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition. 1643

157. The next resolution to be taken was concerning the King's own motion with that army. There was not a man who did not think the reducing of Gloster, a city within little more than twenty miles of Bristol, of mighty importance to the King, if it might be done without a great expense of time and loss of men. It was the only garrison the rebels had between Bristol and Lancashire on the north part of England; and if it could be recovered, he would have the river of Severn entirely within his command, whereby his garrisons of Worcester and Shrewsbury, and all those parts, might be supplied from Bristol, and the trade of that city thereby so advanced that the customs and duties might bring a notable revenue to the King, and, the wealth of the city increasing, it might bear the greater burden for the war: a rich and populous county, which hitherto rather yielded conveniences of quarter than a settled contribution, (that strong garrison holding not only the whole forest division, which is a fourth part of the county of Gloster, absolutely in obedience, but so alarumed all other parts that none of the gentry, who for the most part were well affected, durst stay at their own houses,) might be wholly the King's quarters; and by how much it had offended and disquieted the King more than other counties, by so much the more money might be

1643 raised upon them besides the general weekly contributions, the yeomanry, who had been most forward and seditious, being very wealthy, and able to redeem their delinquency at a high price. And these arguments were fully pressed by the well affected gentry of the county, who had carried themselves honestly, and suffered very much by doing so, and [who] undertook great levies of men if this work were first done. There was another argument of no less, if not greater, moment than all the rest: if Gloster were reduced, there would need no forces to be left in Wales, and all those soldiers might be then drawn to the marching army, and the contributions and other taxes assigned to the payment of it. Indeed, the King would have had a glorious and entire part of his kingdom to have contended with the rest.

158. Yet all these motives were not thought worth the engaging his army in a doubtful siege, whilst the Parliament might both recover the fear that was upon them, and consequently allay and compose the distempers, (which, if they did not wholly proceed [from,] were very much strengthened by, those fears,) and recruit their armies; and therefore that it was better to march into some of those counties which were most oppressed by the enemy, and there wait such advantages as the distraction in and about London would administer, except there could be some probable hope that Gloster might be got without much delay. And to that purpose there had been some secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly expected. The governor of that garrison was one colonel Massy, a soldier of fortune, who had in the late northern expeditions prepared by the King against Scotland been an officer in the King's army, under the command of William Legge, and in the beginning of these troubles had been at York with inclination to serve the King; but finding himself not enough known there, and that there would be little gotten but the comfort of a good conscience, he went to London, where there was more money and fewer officers, and was easily made lieutenant colonel to the earl of Stamford; and being quickly found to be a diligent and a stout officer, and of no ill parts of conversation to render himself

acceptable among the common people, was by his lordship, 1643
when he went into the west, left governor of that city, where he had behaved himself actively and successfully. There was no reason to despair that this man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave and frantic in the cause) might not be wrought upon; and Will. Legge, (who had the good opinion of most men, and the particular kindness of prince Rupert,) had sent a messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion, to Gloster, with such a letter of kindness and overture to Massy as was proper in such a case from one friend to another. This messenger returned when the King's and army's motion was under debate, and brought an answer from the governor in a very high style, and seeming to take it much unkindly that he should endeavour to corrupt him in his honesty and fidelity, and to persuade him to break a trust, which to save his life he would never do; with much discourse of his honour and reputation, which would be always dear to him. But the messenger said withal, that, after the governor had given him this letter, and some sharp reproaches before company, he was brought again, a back way, to a place where he was by himself; and then he told him, that it was most necessary he should write such an answer as he had done, which was communicated to those who else would have been jealous what such a messenger should come to him about; but that he should tell Will. Legge, that he was the same man he had ever been, his servant, and that he wished the King well; that he heard prince Rupert meant to bring the army before that town; if he did, he would defend it as well as he could, and his highness would find another work than he had at Bristol; but if the King himself came with his army, and summoned it, he would not hold it against him, for it would not stand with his conscience to fight against the person of the King; besides, that in such a case he should be able to persuade those of the town which otherwise he could not do.

159. This message turned the scale; for though it might be without purpose of being honest, yet there was no great objection against the King's marching that way with his army,

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1643 since it would be still in his power to pursue any other counsel, without engaging before it. And it was to some a sign that he meant well, because he had not hanged, or at least imprisoned, the messenger who came to him on such an errand. Hereupon the King resolved for Gloster, but not to be engaged in a siege; and so sent his army that way; and the next day (having first sent sir Ralph Hopton a warrant to create him baron Hopton of Stratton[1], in memory of the happy battle fought there) with the remainder of his forces marched towards it.

Aug. 10. 160. On Wednesday the tenth of August the King ranged his whole army upon a fair hill, in the clear view of the city, and within less than two miles of it; and then, being about two of the clock in the afternoon, he sent a trumpet with this summons to the town:

'Out of our tender compassion to our city of Gloster, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be compelled to assault it, we are personally come before it to require the same; and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within, that city, as well soldiers as others, know, that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this our city to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception; and do assure them, in the word of a king, that they, nor any of them, shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our army in their persons or estates; but that we will appoint such a governor and a moderate garrison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that city and that whole county. But if they shall neglect this proffer of grace and favour, and compel us by the power of our army to reduce that place, (which, by the help of God, we doubt not we shall be easily and shortly able to do,) they must thank themselves for all the calamities and miseries must befall them. To this message we expect a clear and positive answer within two hours after the publishing hereof; and by these presents do give leave to any persons safely to repair to and return from us, whom that city shall desire to employ unto us in that business: and do require all the officers and soldiers of our army quietly to suffer them to pass accordingly.'

161. Within less than the time prescribed, together with the trumpeter returned two citizens from the town, with lean, pale, sharp, and bald visages, indeed faces so strange and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe countenance merry, and the most cheerful

[1] [The letters patent are dated 4 Sept.]

heart sad; for it was impossible such ambassadors could 1643
bring less than a defiance. The men, without any circumstances of duty or good manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, they had brought an answer from the godly city of Gloster to the King; and were so ready to give insolent and seditious answers to any question as if their business were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own safe conduct. The answer they brought was in writing, in these very words:

'*Aug.* 10*th*, 1643.

162. 'We, the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and soldiers, within this garrison of Gloster, unto his majesty's gracious message return this humble answer: That we do keep this city, according to our oaths and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royal posterity: and do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament: and are resolved, by God's help, to keep this city accordingly.'

163. This paper was subscribed by Wise, the mayor, and Massy, the governor, with thirteen of the aldermen and most substantial citizens, and eleven officers of the garrison. And as soon as their messengers returned, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the King resolved, all the suburbs of the city, in which were very large and fair buildings, well inhabited, were set on fire; so that there was no doubt the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new debates and new resolutions, to which men came not so unbiassed or unswayed as they had been at Bristol. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in honour he could not do less than sit down before the town, and force it: and these inclinations gave countenance and credit to all those plausible informations, of small provisions in the town either of victual or ammunition, that where the town was strongest there was nothing but an old stone wall, which would fall upon an easy battery, that there were many well affected people in the town, who, with those who were incensed by the burning of the suburbs and the great losses they must sustain thereby, would make such a party that, as soon as they were

1643 distressed, the seditious party would be forced to yield. It was alleged that the enemy had no army, nor, by all intelligence, was like to form any soon enough to be able to relieve it; and if they had an army, that it were much better for his majesty to force them to that distance from London, and to fight there, where he could be supplied with whatsoever he wanted, could choose his own ground, where his brave body of horse would be able to defeat any army they could raise, than to seek them in their own quarters.

164. Above all, the confidence of the soldiers of the best experience moved his majesty, who, upon riding about the town and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion that they should be able in less than ten days by approach (for all thought of storming was laid aside upon the loss [at[1]] Bristol) to win it. This produced a resolution in his majesty, not one man in the council of war dissuading it. And so the King presently sent to Oxford for his general the earl of Braynford[2] to come to him with all the foot that could be spared out of that garrison and his pieces of battery, and to govern that action: prince Rupert wisely declining that province, and retiring himself into his generalship of the horse, that he might not be thought accountable for any accidents which should attend that service. At the same instant, orders were despatched to sir William Vavasour, who commanded all the forces in South Wales, (the lord Harbert having been persuaded so far to comply with the indisposition of that people as to decline that command, or at least for a time to dissemble it,) to draw all his men to the forest side of the town; where the bridges being broken down, a small strength would keep them in, and any from going to them; which within two days was done. And so the King was engaged before Gloster, and thereby gave respite to the distracted spirits at London to breathe and compose themselves, and, more methodically than they had hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation and accomplishing their own ends; which at that time seemed almost desperate and incurable.

[1] ['of,' MS.]

[2] ['Forth,' struck out in the MS.]

165. The direful news of the surrender of Bristol, which 1643
was brought to the two Houses on the 31st of July, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a sentence of death, after a vast consumption of money and confident promises of destroying all the King's forces by a day, every tax and imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the earl of Essex was at the same time returned to Kingston, within eight miles of them, with his broken and dismayed troops, which himself would not endure should have the title of an army. So that the war seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their general talking more, and pressing, for reparation and vindication of his honour from imputations and aspersions, than for a recruit of forces or providing an army to defend them. Every man reproached his neighbour with his disinclination to peace when good conditions might be had, and magnified his own wisdom for having feared it would come to this. The King's last Declaration had been read by all men, and was magnified as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his clemency and justice, that he was so far from being elated with his good successes, and power almost to have what he would, that he renewed all those promises and protestations, for the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and privileges of Parliament, which had been out of their perverseness discredited before as proceeding from the low condition he was in; and whereas they had been frighted with their representation of their own guilt, and the implacableness of the King's nature, as if he meant an utter conquest of them, his majesty had now offered all that could be honestly desired, and had expressed himself a prince not delighted with blood and revenge, but an indulgent father to the most disobedient children. In this reformation of understanding, the Lords in their House debated nothing but expedients for peace: there were not of that body above five at the most who had any inclination to continue the war; and the earl of Essex had sufficiently declared that he was weary of it, and held closest and strictest correspondence with those who most passionately

1643 pressed an accommodation. So that on the fifth of August
Aug. 5. they desired a conference with the Commons, and declared to them that they were resolved to send propositions to the King, and they hoped they would concur in them. The particulars proposed by them were,

166. 1. 'That both armies might be presently disbanded, and his majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament upon such security as should give him satisfaction.

2. 'That religion might be settled with the advice of a synod of divines, in such a manner as his majesty, with the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

3. 'That the militia, both by sea and land, might be settled by a bill; and the militia, forts, and ships of the kingdom put into such hands as the King should appoint with the approbation of both Houses of Parliament: and his majesty's revenues to be absolutely and wholly restored unto him, only deducting such part as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his children, and not otherwise.

4. 'That all the members of both Houses who had been expelled only for absenting themselves, or mere compliance with his majesty, and no other matter of fact against them, might be restored to their places.

5. 'That all delinquents, from before the tenth day of January, 1641, should be delivered up to the justice of Parliament, and a general pardon for all others on both sides.'

6. And lastly, 'That there might be an Act of oblivion for all by-gone deeds and acts of hostility.'

167. When this conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begat a wonderful long and a hot debate, which lasted till ten of the clock that night, and continued a day or two more. The violent party (for there were yet many amongst them of more moderate constitutions, who did and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though, out of fear, and indisposition of health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself, of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular propositions so much as considered. They had received much prejudice by the last treaty at Oxford, and therefore must undergo much more now their condition was much lower: the King had since that, upon the matter, declared them to be no Parliament, for if they were not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that till that point were vindicated they could not treat in any safe

capacity, but would be looked upon under the notion of rebels, 1643
as his majesty had declared them. They had sent members into Scotland to require assistance, which that kingdom was preparing with all brotherly affection and forwardness; and, after such a discovery, to treat for a peace without their privity was to betray them, and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what necessities soever they might be reduced to. That the city of London had expressed all imaginable readiness to raise forces for sir William Waller; and the counties near London were ready to rise as one man, whereby the earl of Essex would be speedily enabled to march, with a better army than ever he had to give the King battle, except this discourse of peace did extinguish the zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the people.

168. But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the King's successes suggested answers enough. They had been punished for breaking off the treaty of Oxford, when they might have had better terms than now they could expect, and if they omitted this opportunity they should fare much worse; that they were not sure of aid from Scotland, neither was it almost possible it should come time enough to preserve them from the ruin at hand. And for the city of London, though the common and meaner sort of people, (who might promise themselves advantage by it,) desired the continuance of the distractions, yet it was evident the most substantial and rich men desired peace, by their refusal to supply money for the carrying on the war; and if they should judge of the common people by their forwardness to engage their own persons, they had reason to believe they had no mind to the war neither; for their general was forced to retire even under their own walls for want of men to recruit his army. However, the sending reasonable propositions to the King would either procure a peace, and so they should have no more need of an army, or, being refused, would raise more men and money than all their ordinances without it. These reasons and arguments prevailed; and after the debate had lasted till ten of the clock at night, it was resolved upon Saturday, Aug. 5.

1643 the question, and carried by nine and twenty voices[1], that they should insist upon the propositions, and send to his majesty.

169. And without doubt, if they had then sent, (as, if the power had been in the two Houses of Parliament, they had done,) a firm peace had immediately ensued: for, besides that if a treaty and cessation had been in that conjuncture entered upon, no extravagant demand would have been pressed, only a security for those who had been faulty, which the King would gladly have granted and most religiously observed, the fourth proposition, and consent to restore all members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those Houses. But this was too well known to be suffered to pass; and therefore the next day, being Sunday, the seditious preachers filled all the pulpits with alarums of ruin and destruction to the city if a peace were now offered to the King; and printed papers were scattered through the streets, and fixed upon gates, posts, and the most public places in the city and suburbs, requiring all persons well affected to rise as one man, and to come to the House of Commons next morning, for that twenty thousand Irish rebels were landed; which information was likewise that day given in many pulpits by their preachers; and in other papers likewise set up, it was declared that the malignant party had overvoted the good, and, if not prevented, there would be peace.

170. When the minds of the people were thus prepared,
Aug. 6. Pennington, their own lord mayor, though [on] Sunday, (on which they before complained the King used to sit in Council,) called a Common Council; where a petition was framed to the House of Commons, taking notice of propositions passed by the House of Peers for peace, which, if consented to and allowed, would be destructive to religion, laws, and liberties; and therefore desired that House to pass an ordinance, according to the tenor of an act of their Common Council, (which they appointed to be annexed to their petition,) which was for the

[1] ['That the propositions from the Lords be taken into further consideration; yeas, 94; noes, 65.' *Commons' Journals*, III. 196. See also *Fifth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, 1876, pp. 98–100.]

vigorous prosecuting the war, and declining all thoughts of accommodation. With this petition, and such an attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the lord mayor himself, who from the time of his mayoralty had forborne sitting in the House as a member, came to the House of Commons and delivered it, with such farther insinuations of the temper of the city as were fit for the purpose; the people at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, and telling the members of both Houses, as they passed by them, that if they had not a good answer they would be there the next day with double the number. The Lords complained of the tumults, and sent to the Commons to join with them in the suppression; instead whereof the Commons (many of their body withdrawing for fear, and other by fear converted, or, it may be, by hope of prevailing) gave the city thanks for their petition, advice, and courage, and rejected the propositions for peace[1]. 1643 Aug. 7.

171. This raised a new contest in the city, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing peace, as they did of first raising the war. And therefore the wise and sober part of it would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late act of the Common Council. But the late execution of Tomkins and Challoner[2], and the advantage which was presently taken against any man who was moderately inclined, frighted all men from appearing in person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the women expressed greater courage than the men; and, having a precedent[3] of a rabble of that sex appearing in the beginning of these distractions with a petition to the House of Commons, to foment the divisions, with acceptance and approbation, a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens came to the House of Commons with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horse, under the command of one Harvey, a decayed silkman, who from the beginning had been one most confided in, were sent for, who behaved themselves with such inhumanity that they charged among the silly women as an enemy worthy of their courages, Aug. 9.

[1] [Yeas, 81; noes, 88.] [2] ['Challinour,' MS.] [3] ['president,' MS.]

1643 and killed and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind, special notice was taken of those members who seemed most importunate and desirous of peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers and the Commons first absented themselves from the Houses, and then removed into those quarters where they might enjoy the protection of the King, and some of them came directly to Oxford.

172. Having diverted this torrent, which would have brought peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the spirits of their general, whose indisposition troubled them more than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary natures, which would yet work to the same
July 27. end. First they caressed sir William Waller with wonderful
July 25. kindness and esteem; and as he was met upon his return to London, after the most total defeat that could almost be imagined, (for though few of his horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed that of above two thousand there were not three hundred gotten together again for their service,) with all the trained bands and militia of London, and received as if he had brought the King prisoner with him, so
July 29[1]. he was immediately chosen governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, for the defence of the city;
Aug. 8. and it was now declared that they would forthwith supply him with a good body of horse and foot, to take the field again, and relieve their distressed friends in the west. Then another or-
Aug. 9. dinance was passed to raise a vast army, under the command of the earl of Manchester, (who had been always steady to his first principles, and never a friend to any overture of accommodation,) in order to opposing the earl of Newcastle, and to take charge of all the associated counties, which were Essex,

[1] [In pursuance of a resolution passed this day, as recommended from a committee on July 27, Waller's commission was sent to him by Essex on Aug. 6. *Lords' Journals*, VI. 172.]

Hartford, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntington, and, by a new addition, Lincoln. And for the speedy raising men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under those two beloved generals, there was an ordinance passed both Houses for the pressing of men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the people, they should be now compelled to fight, whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at because they had themselves procured the King's consent to an Act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press or compel any of the freeborn subjects to march out of the county in which they lived if he were not willing so to do[1]; and direction was given by other ordinances to press great numbers of men, to serve both under the earl of Manchester and sir William Waller. And having thus provided for the worst, and let the earl of Essex discern that they had another earl to trust to, and more generals than one at their devotion, they sent a formal committee of both Houses to him, to use all imaginable art and application to him, to recover him to his former vigour and zeal in their cause. They told him the high value the Houses had of the service he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and losses he had for their sakes undergone: that he should receive as ample a vindication for the calumnies and aspersions raised on him as he could desire, from the full testimony and confidence of the two Houses, and if the infamous authors of them could be found their punishment should be as notorious as their libels: that no other forces should be recruited till his were made up; and that all his soldiers' arrears should be paid, and clothes presently sent for his foot.

1643 Aug. 10, Aug. 16, 18. Aug. 19.

173. Whether these reasons, with the jealousy of the earl of Manchester, upon whom he plainly saw the violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the lord Say and Mr. Pimm of the desperateness of his own condition, with an opinion, by the conclusions upon the differences between the two princes and the marquis of Hartford, that the marquis's services were not enough valued by the King, (which many

[1] [See Book IV. § 88.]

1643 desired should be thought to have then some influence upon the earl,) or whether he had not courage enough to engage in so hazardous an enterprise, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations and desire of peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many lords the spirit to appear champions for peace who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same which hath been since prosecuted with effect to a worse purpose, [that is,] for the members of both Houses who were of one mind, upon that signal riot and compelling the House of Commons to renounce their former resolution of propositions to the King, to have gone to the earl of Essex, and there, under the security of their own army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their privileges by the Common Council's taking notice of their counsels and overruling their conclusions, and to have declared their want of freedom: by means whereof they made no doubt to have drawn the Houses to consent to such an agreement as the King would well have approved of, or to have entered upon such a treaty themselves with the King as all the moderate part of the kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

174. But this staggering in their general frustrated that design, and put them to other resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the earl of Essex might discover some of their overtures, many of the lords left the town, and went either directly to Oxford or into the King's quarters; the earl of Portland and the lord Lovelace (of whose good affections to his service the King had always assurance, and who had only stayed there as a place where they might do him more service than any where else) directly to Oxford, and the lord Conway shortly after
Aug. 12. them; the earl of Clare into Worcestershire, and from thence, by the King's free acceptation, to Oxford, there being no other objection against his lordship than his staying so long amongst them; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, [he] having no manner of relation to the Court, rendered him to his majesty's opinion under a very good character. The

earls of Bedford and Holland, not without some difficulty, (their purpose being discovered or suspected,) got into the King's garrison at Wallingford, from whence the governor gave advertisement of their arrival. The earl of Northumberland, with the leave of the House, retired for his health to his house, to Petworth in Sussex; which though it was in a county entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there. 1643 Aug. 14. Aug. 1.

175. The violent party carried now all before them, and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the people, they ordered the divines of the Assembly to repair into the country to their cures, especially in the counties of the association under the earl of Manchester, to stir up the people, with all their eloquence, to rise as one man against their sovereign; and omitted nothing within their power which might contribute to the raising men or money; being not a little joyed when they understood the King had given them more time than they expected, to compose all disorders and divisions amongst themselves, by his staying with his army before Gloster, which was the greater blessing and preservation to them because at the same time there were sudden insurrections in Kent against their ordinances and jurisdiction, in defence of the known laws, and especially of the Book of Common Prayer; which, if the King's army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress. July.

176 [1]. The fame of all these distractions and disorders at London exceedingly disposed men in all places to reproach his majesty's stay before Gloster; his friends at London desiring that his majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those distractions; and the lords of the Council at Oxford, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the King would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined. But his condition was believed

[1] [This and the following section are taken from the *Life*, p. 237.]

1643 to be in both places better than it was, and that he had now a victorious army, without an enemy to restrain his motion; whereas, in truth, it was a miserable army, lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained before Bristol; and when that part of it that was marched with prince Morrice into the west, and which would not have marched any other way, [was gone,] the King had not much above six thousand foot to march with, though he left none at Bristol, but obliged the lord Hopton to garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appeared a very small army to have marched towards London, though it is true the horse was a noble body, and superior in number to that of the foot[1].

[1] [The following passages are here struck out in the MS. of the *Life*:—

'On the other side, the Parliament had a garrison in Gloster, the only place possessed by them on the Severn, (for the taking of Bristol had reduced Chepstow, and secured for the most part all South Wales;) and if that were recovered to the King's obedience, his majesty's quarters would extend from Bristol to Chester, and bring all the countries between into contribution and subjection, which was a noble quantity of ground; Wales would be entire at the King's devotion, and his army would receive a very great addition by a body of three thousand men, horse and foot, which were commanded by Vavysour, under the lord Herbert on the Welsh side, to block up Gloster from annoying that country, and would all march with the King if that place were recovered; whereas they could not be drawn from thence whilst that garrison remained, and which as soon as the King was marched from Bristol would be a thorn in the sides of Glostershire and Wales, and would hinder all levies and contributions in those countries, and much hinder the settlement of Bristol itself. Gloster was at that time under the government of colonel Massy, a soldier of fortune, and a very active and a vigilant officer. He had been sometimes an officer under the command of Will. Legg, who was then major to prince Rupert, and of near trust about him. After the taking of Bristol he had, with the King's privity, written a letter to him, and received such an answer that was interpreted to give encouragement to the King's army to march thither, and as if the King's presence would have opened the ports of the town; though it appeared afterwards that it was craftily and maliciously written to amuse the King. However, the town itself was no otherwise fortified than by an old high stone wall and a dry ditch, there being likewise a fair and well built suburbs without the town. There did not appear, when the King consulted it at Bristol, any difference of opinion against the King's marching thither with his army; and it was resolved that if he found when he came there that a summons would not put the town into his hands, he might march on towards any other design.

'There was likewise another circumstance that favoured this resolution, which was some good success the earl of Newcastle had obtained in York-

177. There was likewise another circumstance, that few men 1643
were then acquainted with. Upon the first news of the taking of Bristol, his majesty, before he left Oxford, had sent an express to the earl of Newcastle, who was then engaged before Hull, that if he found the business of Hull to be more difficult than he expected, he should leave it blocked up at a distance, which might restrain excursions into the country, and march with his army into the associated counties, which comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, which had associated themselves, by some agreement, to serve the Parliament; though the better part of all those counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the King, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the earl would bring his army through those counties towards London, his majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his majesty came before Gloster, and before he took the resolution to sit down before it, that express returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed him that it was impossible for him to comply with his commands in marching with his army into the associated counties, for that the gentlemen of the country who had the best regiments, and were amongst the best officers, utterly refused to march except Hull were first taken; and that he had not strength enough to march and to leave Hull securely blocked up: which advertisement, with the consideration before mentioned of the enlarging his quarters by the taking of Gloster, and the concurrence of all the officers that it would speedily be taken, produced that resolution of attempting it; notwithstanding that the Queen herself writ so importunately against it that his majesty thought it necessary to make a journey himself to Oxford to convince her majesty, and to compose some distempers which were risen amongst his Council there, upon the news of the arrival of some of the lords mentioned before in those quarters[1].

shire, which had broken all the Parliament forces and driven them into Hull, and much increased his own, with which he made little doubt in a short time to be master of that important place.']

[1] [The paragraph, 'And in the very time—quarters,' is substituted in

1643 178. The King was newly set down before Gloster when the governor of Wallingford sent notice to Oxford of the arrival of those two earls; to whom the lords of the Council returned direction, that they should stay there till the King's pleasure was understood; to whom the Secretary had sent the information, and desired his majesty's will concerning their reception. The King well knew any order he should give in it would be liable to many objections, and he had not so good an inclination to either of them as to run any inconvenience for their sakes; the earl of Bedford having served in person against him as the general of the rebels' horse, and the earl of Holland, in the King's opinion, having done worse. And therefore his majesty commanded that his Privy Council should debate the matter amongst themselves, and present their opinion and advice to him, and he would then determine what kind of entertainment they should have. The opinions at the Board were several. Some thought that his majesty should receive them very graciously, and with all outward expressions of his acceptance of their return to his service; and that the demeanour of all others to them should be such as might make them think themselves very welcome, without the least taking notice of any thing formerly done amiss by them; which would be a great encouragement to others to come away too, so that the number

the MS. for the following, which has hitherto been omitted in the editions:—

'And he expected the return of his express with[in] few days, by which the resolution would be much easier to be taken. And all things being thus balanced, the King gave orders for his march towards Gloster, having not stayed in Bristol above a fortnight, where he had despatched much business. And the night before he went he prevailed with himself to deal freely with the marquis of Hartford, and he told him that he would not any more have him absent from his person, but resolved to make him the first gentleman of his bedchamber, and to give him the office of groom of the stool, a place that had remained void since the key had been taken from the earl of Holland, and therefore desired him, as soon as he had settled his own private affairs and some disputes of the country, he would make haste to him to Oxford; with which he found the marquis was in no degree satisfied, and therefore he left the Chancellor of the Exchequer behind to sweeten the marquis, and to help in the composure of those personal differences which, being raised between Coventry and Stowell, drew the whole country into factions, and much disturbed the public service.']

and quality of those who stayed behind would probably in a short time be so small that they would have no reputation in the kingdom to continue the war. 1343

179. Many differed diametrically from this, and were so far from thinking this advice agreeable to the dignity or security of the King, that they thought it not fit to admit them presently to the King's or Queen's presence, till by their good carriage and demeanour they should give some testimony of their affections: they had both taken the late Covenant, of which one clause was, to assist the forces raised by the Parliament against the army raised by the King, with many reproaches and known scandals upon that army. If they had felt a true remorse of conscience for the ill they had done, they would have left that party when that Covenant was to be imposed upon them; which since they did not, that they came now was to be imputed rather to the King's success, and the weakness of that power which they had hitherto served, than to any reformation of their understandings or improvement of their allegiance: and that it was great reason, that they who had given such arguments of just jealousy and suspicion of themselves should raise a confidence in their loyalty and affection by some act equal to the other; and therefore that none who had taken that Covenant should be admitted to the presence of the King, Queen, or Prince, before he had taken some other oath or covenant, declaring an equal hatred and abhorring of the rebellious arms which were taken up against his majesty and the counsels by which they were taken up. It was said, that the good or ill reception of these lords could have no influence upon the actions or deliberations at Westminster or London, or any considerable persons there; that they were but single men, without any considerable dependence upon them. Whilst they had reputation and interest enough to do good or hurt, and the King's condition needed their attendance, they chose to be engaged against him; but now, when they were able to do him no more harm, they came to receive benefit and advantage from him: that it was a common argument men used to allege to themselves for their compliance with and submission to the

1643 commands of the Parliament, that, if they did otherwise, their severity and rigour was so great that they and their families were sure to be ruined; but if the King prevailed, he was gracious and merciful, and would remit their offences whensoever they cast themselves at his feet; which presumption if they should see confirmed in this example, it would make the observation of conscience and loyalty of no price, and encourage those who were risen against him, and exceedingly dishearten those who had been honest and faithful from the beginning: that there could ensue no inconvenience from any reservedness and coldness towards them, for they durst not return to London, having now made themselves odious to that party, and had no hope but from the acceptance of his majesty, which they should merit before they found.

180. There was a third opinion between these extremes, that they should be neither courted nor neglected, but be admitted to kiss the King's and Queen's hands, and to dispose themselves as they thought fit; and so to leave the rest to their future demeanour. And to resolve which of these opinions to follow was another motive for his majesty's sudden journey to Oxford[1].

Aug. 16. 181[2]. The King found greater alterations in the minds and spirits at Oxford than he expected after so much great success as had befallen him; and that success was it that had made the alteration, it being the unlucky temper of that place and that company to be the soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any misfortune or loss, and to be again upon any victory

[1] [The sentence, 'And to resolve—Oxford,' is substituted in the MS. for the following:—

'The King followed the last opinion; and so they came to Oxford, and were admitted to kiss the Queen's hands, and shortly after went to the leaguer before Gloster, and were in the same manner received by the King. All which I have remembered the more particularly, that it may appear whatsoever was done in that point to have been deliberated; yet truly I conceive it was one of the greatest if not the only omission on the King's part of any expedient during the whole distractions which might reasonably have been depended on to promote or contribute towards a fair accommodation; upon which we shall have occasion anon to say more.']

[2] [The text is here taken up from the *Life*, pp. 240–243, for sections 181–190.]

the most elated, and the most [apt] to undervalue any diffi- 1643
culties which remained. The taking Bristol had so possessed them with joy that they thought the war even at an end, and that there was nothing left to be done but to take possession of London, which they were assured would be delivered to them upon demand. Many members of both Houses were come to Oxford, which assured them the violent people there were even in despair, and after the news came of the surrender of Bristol that they had only kept up their spirits [by the hope] that the King would engage his army in the siege of Gloster, which some of them had seemed to promise their friends would be the case: from whence they would infer that the King was betrayed, and that they who had persuaded him to undertake that design were corrupted by the Parliament. And the envy and jealousy of all this fell upon sir John Culpeper, who was indeed of the opinion for the siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time and afterwards under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

182. This discourse and imagination had made a wonderful impression upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her interest in the King, and that prince Rupert was chief in that conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the King still in the army and by hindering his coming to Oxford: and out of this apprehension the Queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that letter without delay he came to Oxford, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being engaged before Gloster was still very grievous, and the reproaches publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

183. But that which took up most of the time of that one day that the King stayed at Oxford was concerning the two lords who were retained at Wallingford, which had been agitated in the Council with great passion before the King's

1643 coming. The King caused the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, whether the earls of Bedford and of Holland should be admitted to come into Oxford, or obliged to return from whence they came? or if admitted, how they should be received or countenanced by their majesties? And it cannot be enough wondered at that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot be expressed with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper did now oppose the receiving these lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that Board in any thing where disunion was very inconvenient.

184. All exaggerated the carriage and foul ingratitude of the earl of Holland from the beginning of the Parliament, and the earl of Bedford's being general of the horse in the earl of Essex his army; and now when the Parliament was low, and they had lost their credit and interest there, they were come to the King, whom they had so much offended, and expected to be as much, it may be more, made of, than they who had borne the heat of the day; which would so much reflect upon the King's honour that men would be exceedingly discouraged to serve him. Some moved that they might be detained, and kept prisoners of war, since they came into the King's quarters without any pass; others as plainly and more vehemently pressed that they might not be suffered to come to Oxford, or where the King or Queen should be, but permitted to live in some other place within the King's quarters, until they should manifest their affections by some service. They who thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed that they might be suffered to come to Oxford, that thereby they might be kept from returning to the Parliament, (which appeared to most to be liable to many exceptions,) but that, being at Oxford, they should not come to the Court, nor that any privy councillor should visit them.

185. In this whole debate the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1643
who seldom spake without some earnestness, was the only man (except another, who brought no credit to the opinion, the lord Savill) who advised confidently that they might be very graciously received by both their majesties, and civilly be visited and treated by every body; that other men might, by the entertainment they received, be encouraged to desert the Parliament too. He said, it would be too great a disadvantage to the King and to his cause that, whilst the Parliament used all the industry and artifices to corrupt the duty and affection of the subjects, and had their arms open to receive and embrace all who would come to them, his majesty should admit none to return to him who had been faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to have done; that if the King had a mind to gratify and oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to their hearts' desire than by rejecting the application of these lords, or suffering it to pass unregarded. There was one argument against their admission urged very loudly, that it would disturb the peace of the place; the earl of Bedford had commanded that part of the army which infested the marquis of Hartford at his being in Sherborne, when the marquis had sent Harry Seymour, as mentioned before[1], with a challenge to the earl to fight with him, which the earl reasonably declined at that time, and said, he would be ready when the business of the Parliament should be over to wait upon the marquis when he should require it. And some men, who were near enough to the marquis his counsels, undertook to know, that if the earl of Bedford should be in Oxford, the marquis, who was every day expected, would exact the performance of his promise; which sure he was too wise to do.

186. The King during the whole debate did not express any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed towards the earl of Holland. He said that he was bound to his good behaviour, by being under the common reproach of inclining too much to those who had used him worst; of which he would not be

[1] [Book VI. § 33.]

1643 guilty: however, he did not think, at this time, that it would be good to make any persons desperate; and therefore gave order that the governor of Wallingford should permit them to continue their journey to Oxford, where all men might use what civilities they pleased to them; and that himself and the Queen would do that towards them which, upon their application and address, they should think fit. And though this determination was given without the least discovery of grace towards the persons of those lords, and not without some reflections of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the Table, which was evident enough by their countenance. And
Aug. 18. the next morning the King returned to the army.

187. There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the counsels at Westminster, from the time of the treaty and the very abrupt breaking it; and the earl of Northumberland's resenting the affront done to him by Martin had increased those divisions; and the ill successes afterwards, in the defeat of Waller and the taking of Bristol, had given every man courage to say what they would. And then the proceeding upon Mr. Waller's discovery, and obliging all men to take a desperate engagement, which they durst not refuse for fear of being declared guilty of the plot, as many of them were, incensed very many: but above all, the prosperity of the King's affairs made every body wish to come into his quarters. A great number of the House of Commons, who were known always to wish well, came to Oxford: and of the peers, the earl of Portland, who was always very faithful to the King, and had stayed in the House of Peers by his majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. Waller to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to Oxford, together with the lord Conway and the lord Lovelace; the former of which had been likewise questioned and imprisoned, and the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty and opportunity to come away by swallowing that vow and oath which could only set them free, and which they made haste to unswear to the King. The return of the

earl of Essex to London in ill humour gave opportunity to the 1643
earl of Holland, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to a resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The earl of Bedford had given up his commission of general of the horse, and quitted the service, and never had any affection to their ways in his judgment, which was not great. The earl of Clare had been with the King at York, and had his leave to return to London to intend his own particular affairs; and during his stay had never concurred in any malicious counsel against the King, but was looked upon as a man not only firm to the principles of monarchy but of duty to the person of the King. He was a man of honour and of courage, and would have been an excellent person if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping and improving his estate; he was weary of the company he kept, and easily hearkened to the earl of Holland in any consultation how to recover the King's authority, and to put an end to the war. The earl of Essex was, as is said before, enough provoked and incensed, and willingly heard all the lords and others who inveighed against the violent proceedings of those who swayed the Parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the men and the matter: so that they believed that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the remedy as he did upon the disease.

188. Their end and design was, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that they, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate men, that is, who desired a peace, and to return to their duty to the King, (which was much the major part of both Houses that remained at Westminster after so many of both were gone to the King,) might all go to the army, and thereupon the general and they to write to the Parliament together, and to send such propositions to them as the Parliament should transmit to the King as the conditions of peace. If the King should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all people to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuse to transmit those propositions

1643 to the King, or to consent to a peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them for not adhering to the grounds upon which the war was first begun, and would join themselves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the earl of Essex was not yet eclipsed, and before an independent army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a trust, and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: besides that he did believe that he should be able to suppress that violent party by the Parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the earl of Holland for proposing it that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The earl of Holland, who always considered himself in the first place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his service to the Queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. Jermin, and, knowing well to enhance the value of his own service, made great promises of notable service; and Mr. Jermin easily persuaded her majesty that it was much better for her to restore an old servant whom she knew so well to her confidence, (though he had stepped out of the way,) than to rely upon the fidelity of any of those who were now about the King, and who were all, upon the matter, strangers to her, at least not enough known by her; and then, that by laying hold upon this opportunity she would at her first coming to the King carry his restoration with her, possess herself of the whole frame of his business, because all other designs would be laid aside; and so all the good which would redound to the King and kingdom from this new negociation must, by the consent of all the world, be attributed to her majesty's wisdom and conduct. And this appearing hopeful to her majesty, and all that had any thing of hope was by the other always looked upon as certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the earl assured not only to be restored to his

former station in all respects, but to a title to new interest. 1643
And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the earl of Essex, that the King's affairs prospered, and that Bristol was now taken, and the Queen come to Oxford, he resolved himself to go thither, and prevailed with the earls of Bedford and Clare to do the like; he assuring them that they should be very well received. The earl of Clare made his journey by himself out of the common road, and came without any interruption into Oxford at the time appointed: the earls of Bedford and Holland came together to Wallingford, as is mentioned. The earl of Northumberland, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own house at Petworth in Sussex; by which he thought he shewed aversion enough to the counsels at Westminster, and would keep it in his own power to return if he found that the reception of the other lords at Oxford was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the lord Conway's negociation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

189. The leave for the two earls to come from Wallingford to Oxford was declared but the night before the King returned to the army, and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the lords came not to Oxford till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at Wallingford, and with the disputation they heard had been held concerning them; of which they had received so particular information that the earl of Holland writ a very civil letter to the Chancellor [of the Exchequer] before he came to Oxford, taking notice of the affection he had shewed to him in his advice to the King. Both of them had friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient lodgings: so that the one[1] had a lodging at Magdalen college in Oxford, of which house he had formerly been a member; the other lay in Balliol college, where he had a daughter who spared him part of her lodgings. But for any application to them by the lords, or persons in authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went in the

[1] [The earl of Bedford.]

1643 first place to do their duties to the Queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or willingness to shew any, but pure compliance with the ill humour of the town, which she detested: nor did Mr. Jermin, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please all and displease none, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point, (having, no doubt, said more in his letters of correspondence and advice than he had authority to do; it being his custom to write and speak what is most grateful to the persons;) so that the earl of Holland, (with whom alone the correspondence had been,) began to think himself betrayed, and invited to Oxford only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the lord Cottington and two or three other privy councillors with him, who all went presently away, without so much as saluting him: which offended the Chancellor as much as it did him, and in truth obliged him to more ceremony and civility than it may be he would otherwise have exercised; and he did visit him, and make all professions and offers of kindness and service to him, which he did very heartily; and complied therein not only with his own inclinations but with his judgment, as very important to the King's service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion, in which he had not great success.

190. The intelligence from London brought every day the resolution of the Parliament to relieve Gloster, and that, if their levies did not supply them with men soon enough, the train-bands of the city would march out with the general for that service; whereupon the three earls, Bedford, Holland, and Clare, after some days' stay in Oxford, thought it necessary to offer their service to the King in the army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the armies, and so went together to Gloster; where the King received them without any disrespect, and spake with them as they gave him occasion.

191[1]. Whilst the King continued before Gloster, his forces

[1] [Sections 191–198 are from the *Hist.*, pp. 472–4.]

in the west moved with a full gale and tide of success. The earl of Carnarvon marched with the horse and dragoons, being near two thousand, into Dorsetshire, two days before prince Morrice moved with the foot and cannon from Bristol, and had made a fair [entrance[1]] upon the reduction of that whole county before his highness overtook him; and it was thought then, that, if the prince had marched more slowly, he had perfected that work. Upon the surrender of Bristol, many of the gentlemen and others of that county who were engaged in that city for the Parliament, had visited their houses and friends in their journey to London, whither by their safe conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the cavaliers, (as most men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the enemy which had been too hard for them,) that resisting them began to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in those parts and of a good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester in his way to London, and being desired by the magistrates to view their works and fortifications, and to give his judgment of them, after he had walked about them, he told them that those works might keep out the cavaliers about half an hour; and then told them strange stories of the manner of assaulting Bristol, and that the King's soldiers made nothing of running up walls twenty foot high, and that no works could keep them out; which he said not out of any purpose to betray them, (for no man wished the King's army worse success,) but had really so much horror and consternation about him, and the dreadful image of the storm of Bristol imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe they had scaled all those forts and places which were delivered to them. And he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the earl of Carnarvon came no sooner near Dorchester with his horse and dragoons, (which, it may be, was understood to be the van of the victorious army which had taken Bristol,) but the town sent commissioners to him to treat, and, upon articles of

1643

Aug. 2.

[1] [The word in the MS. appears to be this, but is very obscure and has been altered.]

1643 indemnity, that they should not be plundered and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, (which was strongly situated, and might very well have been defended by the spirits of those people, if they had courage equal to their malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King England had not,) with all their arms, ammunition, and ordnance. The fame of the earl's coming had before frighted sir Walter Earle, who had for a long time besieged Corfe castle, (the house of the lord chief justice Banks, defended by his lady with her servants, and some few gentlemen and tenants, who betook themselves thither for her assistance and their own security,) from that
Aug. 4. siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to London than generals use to do who have the care and charge of others, his forces were presently dispersed. And now the surrender of Dorchester (the magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of rebellion) infused the same spirit into Waymoth, a very convenient harbour and haven: and that
Aug. 5. example again prevailed on the island and castle of Portland, (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance,) to all which the earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his majesty's protection.

192. Hither prince Morrice came now up with his foot and cannon, and, neglecting to follow the train of the enemy's fears to Lyme and Poole, the two only garrisons then left in their possession, stayed with his army about Dorchester and Waymoth some days, under the notion of settling and disposing the government of those garrisons. Here the soldiers, (taking advantage of the famous malignity of those places,) used great license, neither was there care taken to observe those articles which had been made upon the surrender of the towns; which the earl of Carnarvon, (who was full of honour and justice upon all contracts,) took so ill that he quitted the command he had with those forces, and returned to the King before Gloster; which published the injustice with the more scandal. Whether this license, which was much spoken of, and no doubt given out to be greater than it was, aliened the affections of those parts; or whether the absence of the marquis of Hartford from the

army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an appre- 1643
hension that there would not be much lenity used towards those who had been high and pertinacious offenders; or whether this army, when it was together, seemed less formidable than it was before conceived to be; or that the terror which had possessed and seized upon their spirits was so violent that it could not continue, and so men grew less amazed; I know not: but those two small towns, whereof Lyme was believed inconsiderable, returned so peremptory a refusal to the prince's summons, that his highness resolved not to attack them; and so he marched to Exciter, where he found all things in better order, and that city more distressed than he had reason to expect, by the diligence and dexterity of sir John Berkely, who being sent from Wells by the marquis of Hartford, (as is before remembered[1],) to govern the affairs of Devonshire, with one regiment of horse, and another of new levied and half-armed foot, had so increased his numbers by the concurrence of the gentlemen of that county, that he fixed strong quarters within less than a mile of the city, and kept his guards even to the gates, when the earl of Stamford was within, with a strength at least equal in number to the besiegers.

193. The Parliament commended the relief of this place, by special instructions, to their admiral, the earl of Warwick; who after he had made show of landing men in several places upon the coast, and thereby compelled sir John Berkely to make quick and wearisome marches with horse and dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the fleet left those who attended their landing about Totness, turned about, and with a fresh gale July 21.
made towards [Topsham[2]] the river that leads to the walls of Exciter; and having the command of both sides of the river, upon a flat, by their cannon, the earl presumed that way he should be able to send relief into the city: but the admirable diligence and providence of sir John Berkely had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous nooks of the river, in which his men might be in some security from the cannon of the ships, and made great haste with his horse to

[1] [Book VI. § 337.]

[2] ['Apsam,' MS.]

1643 hinder their landing; and so this attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate that it discouraged the seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot from their ships upon the land forces, the tide falling, the earl of Warwick fell off with his fleet, leaving three ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the land, in view of his whole fleet; which no more looked after the relief of Exciter that way.

194. But whilst all the King's forces were employed in the blocking up the town, and attending the coast to wait upon the earl of Warwick, the garrison of Plimmoth increased very fast, into which the fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the north parts of Devonshire gathered apace into a head for the Parliament, Bar[n]stable and Biddiford being garrisoned by them, which, having an uninterrupted line of communication with Plimmoth, resolved to join their whole strength, and so to compel the enemy to draw off from the walls of Exciter, which had been very easy to have been done if they in the city had been as active for their own preservation. Sir John Berkely, having notice of this preparation and resolution, sent colonel John Digby (who had from their first entrance into Cornwall commanded the horse) with his own regiment of horse, and some loose troops of dragoons, into the north of Devon, to hinder the joining of the rebels' forces. He chose Torrington for his quarter, and within few days drew to him a troop of new-raised horse, and a regiment of foot raised by his old friends in Cornwall; so that he had with him above three hundred horse, and six or seven hundred foot. Those of Biddiford and Bar[n]stable, being superior in number, and apprehending that the King's successes eastward might increase his strength and power there, and weaken theirs, resolved to try their fortune; and joining themselves together, to the number of above twelve hundred foot and three hundred horse, under the command of colonel Bennett, hoped to surprise colonel Digby at Torrington; and he was, upon the matter, surprised: for albeit he had notice in the night from Bar[n]stable, that the forces drew out thence to Biddiford in the night, and that they

intended to fall on his quarters early in the morning, and thereupon he put himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his forces together out of the town upon such a piece of ground as in that enclosed country could be most advantageous for his horse, having through all the little enclosures cut gaps through which his horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till noon, and heard no more of them, and his small parties which were sent out to inquire returned with assurance that there was no appearance of an enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his horse to their several quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their guard, and returned himself into the town with the foot. 1643 Aug. 19.

195. And within less than an hour, he received the alarum that the enemy was within half a mile of the town. The confusion was very great, so that he resolved not to draw the foot out of the town; but having placed them in the best manner he could upon the avenues, himself went to the horse out of the town, resolving to wait upon the rear of the enemy, who were drawn up on the same piece of ground on which he had expected them all the morning. The colonel, whose courage and vivacity upon action was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other troops came up; but having divided his small party of horse, (the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty,) into several parties, and distributed them into the several little closes out of which there were gaps into the larger ground upon which the enemy stood, a forlorn hope of fifty musketeers advanced towards that ground where himself was; and if they [had] recovered the hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself, taking four or five officers into the front with him, charged that forlorn hope, which immediately threw down their arms, and ran upon their body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that, without making a stand or their horse offering once to charge, the whole body routed themselves, and fled; colonel Digby following the execution with his horse, till their

1643 swords were blunted with slaughter, and his numbers overburdened with prisoners; though the foot out of the town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their enemies.

196. In this action (for it cannot be called a battle, hardly a skirmish, where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken prisoners; and those that fled contributed more to the victory than the prisoners or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the country, and scarce a man without a cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the neighbours towards their conversion than any sermon could be preached to them. Some of the principal officers, and of their horse, got into Biddiford and Bar[n]stable; and, not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging that God was extraordinarily propitious to the cavaliers, told strange stories of the horror and fear that seized upon them, and that nobody saw above six of the enemy that charged them; which proved a greater dismay to their friends than their defeat.

197. At this time came prince Morrice to Exciter, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the fort at Appledore, which commanded the river to Bar[n]stable and Biddi-
Aug. 28, 31 [1]. ford, being delivered to colonel Digby, within two or three days after his victory, those two towns shortly after submitted to his majesty upon promise of pardon, and such other articles as were of course; which colonel Digby saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the towns in point of plunder or violence towards the inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the spirits and temper of that people, that all the persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the articles, colonel Digby within very few days increased his small party to the number of three thousand foot and eight hundred horse; with which he was by prince Morrice ordered to march to Plimmoth, and to block up that place from making incursions into the country.

198. The loss of all their garrisons on the north coast, and

[1] [Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 54: see also *Merc. Aul.*, pp. 484, 485.]

despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with 1643
the earl of Stamford, and that committee in Exciter, (to whom the earl was not superior,) to treat with the prince; and thereupon articles were agreed to, and that rich and pleasant city was deli- Sept. 4.
vered on the fourth of September, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after prince Morrice came thither, into the King's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the besiegers, than the being kept from taking the air without their own walls, and from being supplied from the country markets.

199[1]. There was an accident fell out a little before this time that gave new argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between prince Morrice and the marquis. The earl of Carnarvon, who was general of the horse of the western army, had marched from Bristol the day before the prince, and had taken Dorchester and Waymoth before his highness came up to Aug. 2–5[2].
the army, both considerable places, and the seats of great malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a garrison; but the latter was the best port town of that country, and to be kept with great care. The marquis had made some promise of the government thereof when it should be taken, (of which they made no doubt,) to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, a young gentleman of that country, of a fair and plentiful fortune, and one who, in the opinion of most men, was like to advance the place by being governor of it, and to raise men for the defence of it without lessening the army; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of officers and soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince Morrice, on the other side, had some other person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge when it should fall. In the moment that the town was taken, and before the prince came thither, sir Anthony, hearing that the marquis came not with the army but remained for some time at Bristol, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it, and applied himself to the marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in

[1] [This section and the next are from the *Life*, pp. 238–9.]
[2] [Dugdale's *Troubles*, p. 187. Aug. 4, Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 54.]

1643 his power so to do, since it appeared that the town was taken before the King had declared to him that he should not go to the army; till when he ought to be looked upon as general of it. He conferred with the Chancellor [of the Exchequer] upon it, as a matter in which his honour was concerned, and on which his heart was set. And sir Anthony came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, that, after so much charge he had been put to in the expectation of it and to prepare for it, he might not be exposed to the mirth and contempt of the country. It was evident that if he returned with the commission from the marquis, (which he was most inclined to give him,) both he and the commission would be affronted, and the town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and desire his favour, as well as his justice, in giving his commission to the person designed by the marquis; which would remove that part of the exception which would most trouble the prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the King. And besides his desire to gratify the marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his majesty's service to engage a person of such a fortune and interest so throughly in his quarrel as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that gentleman's nature not being then understood or suspected.

200. He did write with all the skill and importunity he could use to the King, and wrote to the lord Falkland to take sir J. Culpeper with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse, and prevail with him. But his majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it, and said he would not, to please the marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public disobligation and affront upon his nephew. So the express returned without effect, and the marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined, and said 'that he was fallen from any degree of credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him farther service; that his fidelity should never be lessened towards him,' (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought,) 'but since he was become so totally useless to the King

and to his friends, he hoped his majesty would give him leave 1643
to retire to his own house, where he doubted not he should be suffered to live privately, and quietly to pray for the King.' The Chancellor knew well the nature of the marquis, which would never give him leave to pursue any resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too that the mischieve was not small, from the observation that the marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having despatched all things which were incumbent to him at Bristol, and used all freedom to the marquis for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his majesty, that he gave a commission to sir Anthony Ashley Cooper to be Aug. 10.
governor of Waymoth; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the person who he understood was designed to that government. However, the marquis received it as a seasonable act of favour to himself, and, in a short time after, came from Bristol to Oxford, to attend upon his majesty according to his command.

201 [1]. At Gloster the business proceeded very slowly: for

[1] [The text is here resumed from the *Hist.*, pp. 474–481, for §§ 201–236, the MS. of the *Life* continuing thus :—

'The King left Bristol in the resolution and expectation formerly mentioned; and when he came near Gloster, he sent a summons to the governor, and drew up his army in the view of the town from a reasonable ascent[2]; and after he had expected an answer some hours, one of the citizens of the town, of a very ill aspect and rude behaviour, came to the King with the answer from the mayor and aldermen as well as from the governor, and signed by them all, which the messenger would read in a loud unmannerly voice. It did not only contain a refusal to deliver the place, and a declaration that they did and would keep [it] for the Parliament, but had such reproachful expressions in it, that, together with the sauciness of the messenger, as exceedingly incensed the King; and the messenger was no sooner returned, but they gave another evidence of their resolution, by setting all the suburbs, in which there was a fair street and many good houses, on a fire together. Though the King had resolved before not to

[2] ['assent,' MS.]

1643 though the army increased wonderfully there by the access of forces from all quarters, yet the King had neither money nor

be engaged in the siege of this city, and he received new instances from the Queen, and intelligence from London of the extraordinary distractions there, to confirm him in that resolution, and many members of both Houses had left the Parliament, whereof some came to Oxford, (who shall be mentioned anon,) and all sent word that if the King now marched towards London the city itself would compel the Parliament to make a peace, [yet [1]] these unmannerly and insolent provocations from the town persuaded him that he was bound in honour speedily to chastise it. Upon the drawing up his army, he found it much weaker than he thought it to have been. The gentlemen of the Glostershire and of the Welsh side of the Severn came to him, and made great professions how soon they would recruit his army if he would remain some time there; that the town would be taken in few days, and whilst he was taking it his army should be increased every day, whereas, if he marched presently away, besides the dishonour of it, he would not be able to carry away with him one man more than he had brought thither, which would appear a very small body to shew to the city of London for their encouragement to join with him. But that which made most impression was, that the express was now returned from the earl of Newcastle, who informed his majesty that it was impossible for him to comply with his commands and expectation in marching with his army into the associated counties, for that the gentlemen of the country who had the best regiments and were amongst the best officers utterly refused to march except Hull were first taken, and that he had not strength enough to march with any considerable body and to leave Hull securely blocked up; which resolution made it in the judgment of the King and of most of the officers necessary for the King to engage in the siege of that town; and thereupon he sent for the general, who remained yet at Oxford, to attend him at Gloster, with his greatest cannon, and such foot as could be spared out of Oxford. And thereupon he committed the care of one approach which was resolved upon to the general, and another, which likewise was thought necessary, to another part of the town to sir Jacob Ashly, the major general of the foot, who best understood that kind of service, and so disposed the whole army formally to the siege, his majesty himself quartering in a village about two miles distant from the city. And in this posture that affair stood when the Chancellor came to the King from Bristol. And at last, &c. (*as in par.* 200, *to the end of the section, where the MS. thus proceeds*). The King told the Chancellor that it was necessary he should make haste to Oxford, where he would find the lords in great disorder for his having engaged the army before Gloster, but more upon the news of the earl of Holland and the earl of Bedford being coming to Oxford; that they were already come to Wallingford, where the governor, col. Blague, had civilly detained them till he might understand the King's pleasure, who seemed to be in some trouble and irresolution in what manner to receive them. The Chancellor stayed not above two hours with the King, but, though it was late, went to a gentleman's house five or six miles from

[1] ['but,' MS.]

materials requisite for a siege, and they in the town behaved 1643
themselves with great courage and resolution, and made many sharp and bold sallies upon the King's forces, and did more hurt commonly than they received, and many officers of name, besides common soldiers, were slain in the trenches and approaches; the governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander. Sometimes, upon the sallies, the horse got between the town and them, so that many prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and after they were recovered, they confessed that the governor always gave the party that made the sally as much wine and strong water as they desired to drink: so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious army, and after the taking of a city of a much greater name, there was no one officer ran from the town to him, nor above three common soldiers, which is a great argument the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of men before the town, both from the walls and by sickness, (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected,) a very great license broke into the army, both amongst officers and soldiers; the malignity of those parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine or severity amongst the inhabitants; insomuch as it is hardly to be credited how many thousand sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the commissaries for a regular provision; and many countrymen imprisoned by officers without warrant, or the least knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good sums of money for their delinquency; all which brought great clamour upon the discipline of the army and justice of the officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the service they were to expect.

202. In the mean time nothing was left at London unattempted that might advance the preparations for relief of Gloster.

thence, and, after some hours sleep, made haste the next morning to Oxford; where before night the King likewise arrived, of which he had no thought when the Chancellor came away, but received that night some letter from the Queen which made him believe that journey necessary, bringing a small train with him; and after one day's stay he returned to the siege, where his presence was in many respects very necessary.']

1643 All overtures of peace were suppressed, and the city purely at the devotion of those who were most violent, who had put one compliment upon them at this time that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before [1], that at the beginning of these distractions, before the King's going into the north, his majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houses, made sir John Conyers lieutenant of the Tower of London, who was a soldier of very good estimation, and had been the lieutenant general of his horse in that last preparation against the Scots, and governor of Berwick. The Parliament thought by this obligation to have made him their own creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active command in their armies, having the reputation of one of the best officers of horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of prisoners sent to the Tower by the two Houses, and the excessive fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof he was so impartial that those prisoners who suffered most for his majesty found no more favour or indulgence from him than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to confide less in him than they had done, and that he must engage himself in their service or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his majesty's only fort which
July 17. he could not apply to his service, he desired leave from the Houses to go into Holland, where his education had been and his fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the custody of
July 22, 29. the Tower of London, to the lord mayor Pennington; that the city might see they were trusted to hold their own reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justled with their own. And this compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the city believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure they had

[1] [Book IV, § 284.]

put the city under the power, or under the apprehension of the power, of him who would never forsake them out of an appetite to peace. 1643

203. The earl of Essex now declared that he would himself undertake the relief of Gloster, whereas before sir William Waller was designed to it; and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the King, and recovered those officers and soldiers again to him who had absented by his connivance or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for colonel Massy found means to send many messengers out of the town to advertise the straits he was in, and the time that he should be able to hold out. Their ordinance of pressing, though executed with unusual rigour, insomuch as persons of good fortunes who had retired to London that they might be the less taken notice of were seized on, and detained in custody till they paid so much money, or procured an able man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in and delivered to the officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were designed, and such a peremptory resolution not to fight, that they only increased their numbers, not their strength, and ran away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for men but to those who had so constantly supplied them with money, and prevailed with their true friends, the city, which they still alarumed with the King's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their train-band regiments, or auxiliaries, to fight with the enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as Gloster should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the malignants within as with the enemy without their city.

204. Upon such arguments, and the power of the earl of Essex, so many regiments of horse and foot as he desired were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of August, he marched out of London; and having appointed a rendezvous near Alesbury, where he was met by the lord Grey and other Aug. 26.

1643 forces of the associated counties, from thence he marched by easy journeys towards Gloster, with an army of about eight thousand foot and four thousand horse. It would not at first be credited at the leaguer that the earl of Essex could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some alarum to Oxford, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the army from Gloster, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must march over a *campania* near thirty miles in length, where half the King's body of horse would distress, if not destroy, his whole army, and through a country eaten bare, where he could find neither provision for man or horse; and if he should without interruption be suffered to go into Gloster, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to London, without being destroyed in the rear by the King's army, which should nevertheless not engage itself in the hazard of a battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before Gloster, their galleries being near finished, and visibly a great want of ammunition in the town; yet the lord Wilmott was appointed with a good party of horse to wait about Banbury, and to retire before the enemy, if he should advance, towards Gloster, and to give such impediments to their march as in such a country might be easy to do; prince Rupert himself staying with the body of horse upon the hills above Gloster, to join, if the earl of Essex should be so hardy as to venture.

Sept. 1. 205. The earl came to Brackley, and having there taken in from Leicester and Bedford the last recruits upon which he depended, he marched steadily over all that *campania*, which they thought he feared, towards Gloster; and though the King's horse were often within view, and entertained him with light skirmishes, he pursued his direct way; the King's horse still retiring before them, till the foot was compelled to raise their siege, in more disorder and distraction than might have been expected; and so, with less loss and easier skirmishes than can Friday, be imagined, the earl with his army and train marched to Sept. 8. Gloster; where he found them reduced to one single barrel of

powder; and all other provisions answerable. And it must be confessed, that governor gave a stop to the career of the King's good success, and from his pertinacious defence of that place the Parliament had time to recover their broken forces and more broken spirits, and may acknowledge to this rise the greatness to which they afterwards aspired. 1643

206. The earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three[1] days; and in that time, (which was as wonderful as any part of the story,) caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them out of those very quarters in which the King's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which without a connivance from the King's commissaries could not have been done. All this time the King lay at Sudeley castle, the house of the lord Chandos, Sept. 7–10. within eight miles of Gloster, watching when that army would return, which they conceived stayed rather out of despair than election in those eaten quarters; and to open them a way for their retreat, his majesty removed to E[ve]sham, hoping the earl Sept. 11. would choose to go back the same way he came; which for many reasons was to be desired; and thereupon the earl Sunday, marched to Tewkesbury, as if he had no other purpose. The Sept. 10. King's horse, though bold and vigorous upon action and execution, were always less patient of duty and ill accommodation than they should be, and at this time, partly with weariness and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole army upon this relief of the town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the enemy: so that the earl of Essex was marched with his whole army and train from Tewkesbury four and twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone: for he took the advantage of a dark night, and, having sure guides, reached Ciciter before the breaking of the day, where Saturday, he found two regiments of the King's horse quartered securely; Sept. 16. all which, by the negligence of the officers, (a common and fatal crime throughout the war on the King's part,) he surprised, to

[1] [two.]

1643 the number of above three hundred; and, which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of provisions, prepared by the King's commissaries for the army before Gloster, and which they neglected to remove after the siege was raised, and so most sottishly left it for the relief of the enemy, far more apprehensive of hunger than of the sword. And indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted their spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

207. From hence the earl, having no farther apprehension of the King's horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open *campania*, and being at the least twenty miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied soldiers might overtake him, moved through that deep and enclosed country of North Wiltshire, his direct way to London. As soon as the King had sure notice which way the enemy was gone, he endeavoured by expedition and diligence to recover the advantage which the supine negligence of those he trusted had robbed him of; and himself with matchless industry taking care to lead up the foot, prince Rupert with near five thousand horse marched day and night over the hills to get between London and the enemy, before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep countries, in which they were engaged between narrow lanes, and to entertain them with skirmishes till the whole army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the van of the enemy's army had almost marched over Awborne
Sept. 18. Chase, intending that night to have reached Newbery, prince Rupert, besides their fear or expectation, appeared with a strong body of horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him he charged their rear, and routed them with good execution; and though the enemy performed the parts of good men, and applied themselves more dexterously to the relief of each other than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet, with some difficulty and the loss of many men, they were glad to shorten their journey, and, the night coming on, took up their quarters at Hungerford.

208. In this conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or 1643
two, many fell of the enemy, and of the King's party none of name but the marquis of Vieu Ville, a gallant gentleman of the French nation, who had attended the Queen out of Holland, and put himself as a volunteer upon this action into the lord Jermin's regiment. There were hurt many officers, and amongst those the lord Jermin received a shot in his arm with a pistol, owing the preservation of his life from other shots to the excellent temper of his arms; and the lord Digby a strange hurt in the face, a pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him that the powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischieve, by which it was concluded that the bullet had dropped out before the pistol was discharged; and may be reckoned amongst one of those escapes of which that gallant person hath passed a greater number in the course of his life than any man I know.

209. By this expedition of prince Rupert the enemy was forced to such delay that the King came up with his foot and train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the license which many officers and soldiers took whilst the King lay at E[ve]sham [1], were much lessened, being above two thousand fewer than when he raised his siege from Gloster. And when the earl the next day advanced from Hun- Sept. 19.
gerford, hoping to recover Newbery, which prince Rupert with his horse would not be able to hinder him from, when he came within two miles of the town he found the King possessed of it, for his majesty with his whole army was come thither two hours before. This put him to a necessity of staying upon the field that night; it being now the seventeenth [2] day of September.

210. It was now thought by many that the King had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former oversights, omissions, or neglects, and that by the destroying the army which

[1] [He was at Evesham and Pershore ('Parshall') from Sept. 11 to Sept. 15. Sir E. Walker's *Iter Carolinum* in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, ii. 431.]

[2] [the nineteenth.]

1643 had relieved Gloster, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good town to refresh his men in, whilst the enemy lodged in the field, his own quarters to friend, and his garrison of Wallingford at hand, and Oxford itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the prince had attacked them the day before had stood in their arms, in a country where they could not find victual. So that it was conceived that it was in the King's power whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages who must make their way through or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night not to engage in battle but upon such grounds as should give an assurance of victory.
Sept. 20. But contrary to this resolution, when the earl of Essex had with excellent conduct drawn out his army in battalia upon a hill called Bigg's Hill, within less than a mile of the town, and ordered his men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate courage of some young officers, who had good commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the courage of the enemy, strong parties became successively so far engaged that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a battle, and to give the enemy at least an equal game to play.

211. It was disputed on all parts with great fierceness and courage; the enemy preserving good order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon than to get more, by which they did not expose themselves to those advantages which any motion would have offered to the assailants. The King's horse, with a kind of contempt of the enemy, charged with wonderful boldness upon all grounds of inequality, and were so far too hard for the troops of the other side that they routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their foot without any guard at all of horse. But then the foot behaved themselves admirably on the enemy's part, and gave their scattered horse time to rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The London train-bands, and auxiliary

regiments, (of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation,) behaved themselves to wonder, and were in truth the preservation of that army that day; for they stood as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest, and, when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily that, though prince Rupert himself led up the choice horse to charge them, and endured their storm of small shot, he could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about. Of so sovereign benefit and use is that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of their arms, which hath been so much neglected. 1643

212. It was fought all that day without any such notable turn as that either party could think they had much the better. For though the King's horse made the enemy's often give ground, yet the foot were so immoveable that little was gotten by the other; and the first entrance into the battle was so sudden, and without order, that during the whole day no use was made of the King's cannon, though that of the enemy was placed so unhappily that it did very great execution upon the King's party, both horse and foot. The night parted them when nothing else could; and each party had then time to revolve the oversights of the day. The enemy had fared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore in the morning, Sept. 21. early, they put themselves in order of marching, having an obligation in necessity to gain some place in which they might eat and sleep. On the King's side there was that caution which should have been the day before; and though the number of their slain was not so great as in so hot a day might have been looked for, yet very many officers and gentlemen were hurt, so that they rather chose to take advantage of the enemy's motion, than to charge them again upon the old ground; from whence they had been by order called off the night before, when they had recovered a post the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the adversary. The earl of Essex, finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to London, and

1643 took that way by Newbery which led towards Reading; which prince Rupert observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole army was entered into the narrow lanes, and then with a strong party of horse and one thousand musketeers followed his rear, with so good effect that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many prisoners. However, the earl with the gross of his army and all his cannon got safe into Reading, and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to London, leaving Reading to the King's forces; which was presently possessed by sir Jacob Ashly, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, and made again a garrison for the King: his majesty and prince Rupert, with the remainder of the army, retiring to Oxford, and leaving a garrison under the command of colonel Boys in Donnington castle (a house of John Packer's, but more famous for having been the seat of Geoffrey Chaucer,) within a mile of Newbery, to command the great road through which the western trade was driven to London.

213. At this time sir William Waller was at Windsor with above two thousand horse and as many foot, as unconcerned for what might befall the earl of Essex as he had formerly been on his behalf at Roundway hill; otherwise, if he had advanced upon the King to Newbery (which was not above twenty miles) when the earl was on the other side, the King had been in great danger of an utter defeat; and the apprehension of this was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in battle.

Sept. 26. 214. The earl of Essex was received at London with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence; public
Sept. 24. and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage, in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue, and it may be well reckoned amongst the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the business he undertook, and after the relief of Gloster his next care was

to retire with his army to London; which, considering the length of the way and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected. On the other side, the King was not without some signs of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it; he had the spoil of the field, and pursued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them without receiving any loss; and, (which seemed to crown the work,) fixed a garrison again at Reading, and thereby straitened their quarters as much as [they were[1]] in the beginning of the year, his own being enlarged by the almost entire conquest of the west, and his army much stronger in horse and foot than when he first took the field. On which side soever the marks and public ensigns of victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that attended all skirmishes and conflicts with such an adversary, the loss on the King's side was in weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of, colonel or officer was missing on the enemy's side, as some citizen's wife bewailed the loss of her husband, there were above twenty officers of the field and persons of honour and public name slain upon the place, and more of the same quality hurt. 1643

215. Here fell the earl of Sunderland, a lord of a great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age,) and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day into the King's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge was taken away by a cannon bullet.

216. This day fell the earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was by one of them, who knew him, run through the body with a sword, of which he died within an hour. He was a person with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted.

[1] ['it was,' MS.]

1643 Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations than our common travellers used to visit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles began, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse that was raised for the King's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier, no man more diligently obeying or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy, and had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities and that license which he had formerly indulged to himself he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately when he had power to do wrong; and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Waymoth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession and an excellent soldier, and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his army.

217. But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration; and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent in this place to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland: a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conver-

sation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity. 1643

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

218. Before this Parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to twenty years of age he was master of a noble fortune, which descended to him by the gift of a grandfather[1], without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy; so that when he returned into England to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation, and therefore was to make a pure election of his company, which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship for the most part was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

219. He was a great cherisher of wit and fancy and good parts in any man, and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which in those administrations he was such a dispenser as if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore, having once resolved not to see London (which he

[1] [Sir Laurence Tanfield, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.]

1643 loved above all places) till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

220. In this time, his house being within ten miles of Oxford[1], he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university bound in a lesser volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

221. Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the Church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics, having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all or the choicest of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and having a memory so stupendous that he remembered on all occasions whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests and others of the Roman Church he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose.

[1] [At Great Tew, sixteen miles from Oxford.]

But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when by sinister arts they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style and full weight of reason that the Church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world [1]. 1643

222. He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short Parliament he was a burgess in the House of Commons [2]; and from the debates, which were then managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments that he thought it really impossible that they could ever produce mischieve or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice of the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and in the beginning of it declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitancies which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them, and thought no mischieve so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of

[1] [If one of these was the *Discourse of infallibility*, it had already been two years in print when Hyde wrote this passage, having been published in 1645. The other may be the answer to a *Reply*, which was first printed in 1651.]

[2] [For Newport in the Isle of Wight.]

1643 state to break positive rules for reason of state, or judges to transgress known laws upon the title of conveniency or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and was only misled by the authority of those who he believed understood the laws perfectly, of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was scarce controverted, had been true, that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom had been treason, a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions, to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

223. The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed commonly from them in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble, by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations, which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a morosity to the Court and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his majesty graciously termed doing

him service, his answers were more negligent and less satis- 1643
factory than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections; which from a stoical and sullen nature might not have been misinterpreted, yet from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than any man hath done to procure an office there. And if anything but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the King's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averse to the Court or from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negociation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

224. For this reason, when he heard it first whispered that the King had a purpose to make him a councillor, for which in the beginning there was no other ground but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit*[1],) he resolved to decline it, and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and persuasions of his friends to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him his Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends that he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to

[1] [Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.* cap. 9. 'eligit,' MS.]

1643 be done by one that was honoured with that place, for that the most just and honest men did every day that which he could not give himself leave to do. And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, *ad amussim*, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from the rule which he acknowledged fit and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments; and was so precise in the practick principles he prescribed to himself, (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived *in republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli*[1].

225. Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that it [*sc.* his avoiding them] might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that men would have believed that he had refused so great an honour and trust because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him before other men especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

226. For these reasons, he submitted to the King's command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devout an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation as could be

[1] [Cic., *Epistt. ad Atticum*, ii. 1.]

expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two 1643
things he could never bring himself to whilst he continued in that office, that was, to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them; I do not mean such emissaries as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number or quartering, or such generals as such an observation can comprehend, but those who by communication of guilt or dissimulation of manners wound themselves into such trusts and secrets as enabled them to make discoveries for the benefit of the State. The other, the liberty of opening letters upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, such instruments must be void of all ingenuity and common honesty before they could be of use, and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited; and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society as the cherishing such persons would carry with it. The last, he thought such a violation of the law of nature that no qualification by office could justify a single person in the trespass; and though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to shift it from himself, when he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so unwilling he was to resign any thing in his nature to an obligation in his office. In all other particulars he filled his place plentifully, being sufficiently versed in languages to understand any that is used in business and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro injuria virtutum fuerit*[1].

227. Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to

[1] [Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.* c. 9.]

1643 some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude and publish, that he was no friend to the Church and the established government of it, and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary than prepared to answer the allegations.

228. The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the archbishop; and having only known him enough to observe his passion, when it may be multiplicity of business or other indisposition had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the Court or State, though, (I speak it knowingly,) he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning and confessed integrity, and really thought his letting himself to those expressions which implied a disesteem of him, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

229. The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the Church by bishops was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared they did desire the one and would then not press the other; which in that particular misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men; and was never in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government, holding them most ridiculous, or affected to the other which those men fancied to themselves.

230. He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, 1643
and so far from fear that he was not without appetite of danger; and therefore upon any occasion of action he always engaged his person in those troops which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him a strange cheerfulness and companiableness, without at all affecting the execution that was then principally to be attended, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it where it was not, by resistance, necessary: insomuch that at Edgehill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom it may be others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: insomuch as a man might think he came into the field only out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, and before he came to age, he went into the Low Countries with a resolution of procuring command and to give himself up to it, from which he was converted by the complete inactivity of that summer: and so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarum from the north; and then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.

231. From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion, generally sunk into the minds of most men, prevented the looking after many advantages which might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu bellum*

1643 *inter remedia erat*[1]. But after the King's return from Brainford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly unreserved and affable to all men that his face and countenance was always present and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable, and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had intended before always with more neatness and industry and expense than is usual to so great a mind, he was not now only incurious but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick and sharp and severe, that there wanted not some men (who were strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

232. The truth is, as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even a demissness and submission to good and worthy and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture than his own election had done) *adversus malos injucundus*[2], and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once in the House of Commons such a declared acceptation of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, that the Speaker might in the name of the whole House give him thanks, and then that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense,) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out and clasped his hands together

[1] [Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.* c. 29.] [2] [Tacitus, *Vit. Agric.* c. 22.]

upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; 1643
that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

233. When there was any overture or hope of peace he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting amongst his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, that he was so much enamoured on peace that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price; which was a most unreasonable calumny; as if a man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloster, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (as he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did,) as being so much beside the duty of his place that it might be understood against it, he would say merrily, that his office could not take away the privileges of his age, and that a Secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger; but withal alleged seriously that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard than other men, that all might see that his impatiency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity or fear to adventure his own person.

234. In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from

1643 whence he was shot with a musket on the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning, till when there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the business of life that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: and whosoever leads such a life need not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.

Sept. 25. 235. The earl of Essex entered into London on the 25th day of September, (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon Sept. 26. another solemnity,) and was the next day visited at Essex house by the Speaker and whole House of Commons, who declared to him that they came to congratulate his notable success, and to render the thanks of the kingdom to him for his incomparable conduct and courage, and that they had caused their Sept. 23. acknowledgment to be entered in their journal book, as a monument and record of his virtue and their gratitude. A day or Sept. 28. two after, solemn thanks were rendered to those members of both Houses who had command in the army, and some extraordinary signification of respect derived to the superior officers throughout the army. A gaudy letter of kindness and value Sept. 15. was sent to colonel Massy, and (which made the letter of more value,) a thousand pounds was sent him as a gratuity or present for his service, over [and] above what was due to him for his pay, and some largess to all the inferior officers, and a month's pay, over and above their arrears, to the soldiers of that garrison.

236. Lest the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy between the earl of Essex and sir William Waller might administer hope or suspicion that some division might grow amongst themselves, and from thence that the King might receive any advantage, great care was taken to make, and greater to publish, a reconciliation between them; in which sir William was all submission and humility, and his excellence full of

grace and courtesy. The passion and animosity which differ- 1643
ence of opinion had produced between any members was totally laid aside and forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world believe that they were a people newly incorporated, and as firmly united to one and the same end as their brethren the Scots; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation, of which they had not before a full confidence.

237[1]. Though the King's army had all the trophies of victory in and after this battle, (it kept the field, and had the spoil of it; it took some pieces of the enemy's cannon, who marched off in the night, and was pursued with some considerable loss beyond Reading, where a garrison was again placed for his majesty, under the command of sir Jacob Ashly, major general of the army, and an excellent officer; so that the Parliament was in so much a worse state than they were in the spring as the loss of Bristol and most of the west amounted to, for by this time Exeter was likewise reduced by prince Maurice;) yet notwithstanding all this the earl of Essex, as is said before, was received at London with all imaginable gratulation and triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great soldiery and notable courage, and the heart and spirit of the Parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for peace quite abated.

238. On the contrary, upon the King's return to Oxford, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret mutiny; in the army, anger and jealousy amongst the officers, every one accusing another of want of courage and conduct in the actions of the field; and they who were not of the army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The siege of Gloster was not believed to have been well conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the earl of Essex in all the march over so open a country was thought unexcusable, and was imputed to the want of courage in Wilmott, whom the prince did in no degree favour:

[1] [The text is here taken up from the *Life*, pp. 245–8, for sections 237–248.]

1643 nor was the prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the earl of Essex, after all the horse was joined, to march down a long steep hill into the vale of Gloster without any disturbance; and that the whole army, when it was found necessary to quit the siege, had not been brought to fight in that vale, and at some distance from the town, when the King's men were fresh, and the other side tired with so long a march.

239. But then all men renewed their execrations against those who advised the engagement before Gloster; the officers, who had been present and consenting to all the counsels, disclaiming as much as any the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spake most in those debates, and was not at all gracious to the soldiers; and this clamour against that engagement was so popular and universal that no man took upon himself to speak in defence of it; though, besides the reasons which have been formerly alleged for it, this last action might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared that the city was so much united to the Parliament that it supplied their army with such a body of their train-bands, (without which it could never have marched,) with what success could his majesty [have] approached London, after the taking of Bristol, with his miserable army? And would not the whole body of the train-bands have defended that, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a march of two hundred miles? for less they did not march from the time they went out to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever convert those who looked upon that undertaking at Gloster as the ruin of the King's affairs.

240. The temper of the Court was no better than that of the army; and the King was so much troubled with both that he did not enjoy the quiet his condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for honours or offices because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the King, made their modesty an argument of their merit to the Queen, and assured her that they had forborne to ask any thing in her absence because they had always resolved never to

receive any thing but by her bounty. Many pretended former promises and engagements for creations of honours, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough that both their majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises with reference to a time which they imagined, and at that time resolved, should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring honour upon one or two, whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest who had that promise were very importunate and clamorous for the same justice. And by this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some men to whom they bore no good-will; and so they who received the favours were no more pleased than they were who conferred them; and they who were without ambition before, when they saw honours and offices conferred upon men who they thought did not merit them better than themselves, all men thought their service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual prologue to suits of that kind, that they did not desire it out of their own ambition but purely to satisfy their friends, who withdrew their kindness from them out of an opinion that they had offended the King, who would not otherwise put so great a difference between them and other men. Princes should not confer public rewards in a season when they can only gratify few, and when so many stand upon the same level in pretences, and are apt to feel the preferring of one as an affront and disobligation to the rest. 1643

241. There was no particular that gave the King more unquietness than the presence of my lord of Holland. The three earls had attended the King before he rose from Gloster, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had charged the enemy, in the King's regiment of horse, at the battle of Newbery very bravely, and had behaved themselves throughout very well, and returned to Oxford with his majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon. And the other two had no cause to complain; the King upon all occasions spake very graciously to them, and sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the earl of Clare, that he had liberty, and might be present

1643 at the councils of war, where the peers usually were; where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the country, were usually debated. But the earl of Holland was not pleased; he thought nothing of former miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the merit of coming to the King now, and bringing such considerable persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his key restored to him, to have been in the same condition he was, in the bed-chamber and in the Council, and in the King's grace and countenance; of all which he had assurance, before he came, from the Queen, at least from Mr. Jermin, who, no doubt, did exceed his commission. And the very deferring of this was grievous to him, and the more because he found the same disrespect from all others as he had done when he came first to Oxford.

242. He came frequently in the afternoon to Merton college, where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their majesties looked well upon him, and spake to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the King went aside with him to the window in the same room, where they spake a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did oftener, in the same manner; and Mr. Jermin, (who
Sept. 8. was about this time made a baron,) was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigour or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other people, who were not so good courtiers, (as sure none was equal to him in that function and mystery,) did in truth heartily desire that he might receive satisfaction in all things according to his own desire, and would have trusted him herself as much as formerly: yet she complied so far with the King's aversion that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of malice and prejudice as she

saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to 1643
wish what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However, the marquis of Hartford was now come to Oxford, and expected the performance of the King's promise to him, and to be admitted into the office of groom of the stool; of which the King took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected that the intention was to re-admit the old officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the Queen's looking less graciously upon the marquis than she had used to do. And it is true (though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks,) she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without her consent and as it crossed what she designed, and much desired that the marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the lord Jermin, with some passion, spake to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, how unreasonable a thing it was for the marquis, who was master of so great a fortune, to affect such a low preferment, and how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence: but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the lords and the persons of quality in the town, who did not wish to see the Court as it had been, or the Queen herself (upon whose person they looked with duty and reverence) possessed of so absolute a power as she had been formerly.

243. The earl of Holland did not act his own part with that art and dexterity which might have been expected from his wisdom and experience, nor had ever made the least apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his majesty himself declared to those who he knew were his friends[1], and said that he behaved himself with the same confidence and assurance as he had done when he was most in his favour, and that he retained still the old artifice of Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and Queen's ear, by

[1] [The words 'declared—friends' are substituted in the MS. for, 'told the Chancellor, who he knew was his friend']

1643 which people thought there was some secret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the market. So his majesty protested that the earl of Holland had several times seemed to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the company to the end or corner of the room, and at first expected and apprehended that he would say somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had never said then one word but what he might have spoke in the circle; with which he said he was the better pleased; and that he believed he had not been more particular with his wife, save that he used to entertain her with discourses of the wisdom and power of the Parliament, and what great things they would be able to do, and how much they were respected in foreign parts; which, his majesty said, was a strange discourse for a man to make who had so lately left them because he thought the King's condition to be the better of the two.

244. He had a friend[1] who did heartily desire to do him all the offices and service that would consist with the King's honour, and always apprehended the ill consequence of discouraging such revolutions, and who spake often to the earl of his own affairs. And when he complained of his usage, and repeated what promises and encouragement he had received to come to the King, and of what importance his good reception would have been; that there were many of considerable reputation and interest in the House of Commons, (whom he named,) who intended to have followed, and that the earl of Northumberland only expected his advice; his friend asked him, whether he had done all things since he came to the King which might reasonably be expected from him? He said, he had he thought done all could be expected from him in bringing himself to the King, and, since his coming to him, in venturing his life for him; and in lieu thereof he had not received thanks, or one gracious word; and now, after his office had been kept unbestowed near two years, and a pro-

[1] ['The Chancellor,' struck out in the MS., as also twice below at the words, 'his friend.']

mise made to him that he should be restored to it, it was to be 1643
bestowed upon another, to make his disgrace the more notorious; which he thought would not prove for his majesty's honour or advantage.

245. His friend asked him, whether he had asked it of the King, or informed him of the promise that was made to him? He said, he had done neither, nor ever would; he expected it of the King's grace, and would not extort it by a promise, which it might be his majesty was not privy to. The other replied very plainly to him, that if he thought he had never committed any fault against the King, he had no reason to acknowledge it, or make excuse for it; but if he were guilty of any such, how unwarily soever it had been done, or how unmaliciously soever it had been intended, he ought to make some confession and apology to his majesty; nor could his majesty with the safety of his honour avow the receiving him into any trust without it, nor was he capable of receiving any offices from his friends, or the Queen's own declared interposition on his behalf, till he had performed that necessary introduction. He told him, if he would follow his advice he believed he might receive some effect of it; which was, that he should send to desire a private audience of his majesty in some room where nobody might be present, which would not be refused him, and then he should (with all the excuses upon the terror the Parliament gave to all men who had exceeded the common rules in their administration of the trust they had from his majesty, as he could not deny he had done in many particulars for the advancement of his majesty's service) confess, that he had not been hardy enough to contemn that power, but had been so much in awe of it that he chose rather to presume upon his majesty's goodness than to provoke their jealousy and displeasure, and so had complied with them more than in his duty and gratitude to his majesty he ought to have done, for which he begged his pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it, he made no doubt he should wipe out the memory of past offences by some new services which should be beneficial to his majesty. And he told him, that he would do

1643 very well if he would sue out his pardon, as the earl of Bedford had done, who had asked it of the King when he first kissed his hand, and had since wisely taken it out under the Great Seal of England.

246. The earl of Holland seemed not at all pleased with this advice; said, he did not think, though he would not justify all that he had done, his transgressions were of that magnitude that they required such a formality of asking pardon; that his case was very different from that of the earl of Bedford, who had been in arms, and a general officer in the field against the King; whereas he had only sat in the Parliament, as lawfully he might do; and if he had failed in his attendance upon his majesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, he had received so many marks of it before he deserved it that might well transport a very faithful servant into a discontent that would not become him; that as soon as he found himself restored to any proportion of his majesty's grace and confidence, his own inclination would carry him to as humble apologies and as deep acknowledgments of all his transgressions as could be expected from him, and such as he believed would reconcile the King's goodness to him; but to make the first advance by such a kind of submission, he did not think he could prevail over himself to do it. However, he took his advice very kindly, and spake often with him after upon the same subject, being, upon conference with some other friends, especially by his daughter, (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly,) advised the same, so that he seemed resolved to do it.

247. But whether he thought worse of the King's affairs, or liked the Court the less because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favour he might obtain he could not expect a support from it to defray his expenses, nor could he draw it from any other place, he delayed it till the King found it reasonable to confer the office he had so long promised upon the marquis of Hartford; and then withdrawing himself, for his convenience, to a neighbour village, where he had a private lodging, after few days, with the help of a dark night and a
Nov. 6. good guide, he got himself into the enemy's quarters, and laid

himself at the feet of the Parliament; which, after a short imprisonment, gave him leave to live in his own house, without farther considering him, as a man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an act very unsuitable to his honour or his own generous nature; for he published a declaration in print of the cause of his going to and returning from Oxford; in which he endeavoured to make it believed that his compassion and love to his country had only prevailed with him to go to the King, in hope to have been able, upon the long knowledge his majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a peace with his Parliament, which from the time of his coming thither he had laboured to do; but that he found the Court so indisposed to peace, and that the Papists had so great a power there[1], (using many expressions dishonourable towards the King and his Council,) that he resolved to make what haste he could back to the Parliament, and to spend the remainder of his life in their service. Which action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with nobody; and may teach all men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of innocence and virtue upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since they usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of innocence from whence they departed with a purpose of returning. 1643 Nov. 25.

248. However, this unhappy ill carriage of the earl doth not absolve the King's Council from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error, and made the King, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all men from farther thoughts of returning to their duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the war, and the

[1] [These expressions are not found *totidem verbis* in the earl's declaration, but are Hyde's paraphrase. The paper is entitled, *A declaration made to the kingdome by Henry, earl of Holland*: Lond., printed for Mathew Walbancke, 1643.]

1643 violent counsels in the carrying it on, choose rather to acquiesce, and expect a conjuncture when a universal peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable and unwelcome addresses. The earl of Northumberland, who was gone to Pet-
§ 188. worth, (as is said before,) with a purpose of going to the King if, by the lord Conway's negociation and the earl of Holland's reception, he found encouragement, returned to the Parliament, where he was received with great respect, all men concluding that he had never intended to do what he had not done. And the other members, who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former stations: and the two earls who yet remained at Oxford, shortly after found means to make their peace, and returned again to their own habitations in London, without farther mark of displeasure than a restraint from coming to the House of Peers or being trusted in their counsels.

249[1]. The committee from the two Houses of Parliament which was sent into Scotland in July before, in the distraction of their affairs, when sir William Waller was defeated and the
§ 135. earl of Essex's army unserviceable, (as is remembered,) found that kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their reception,
May 10. that they had called an Assembly of their Kirk and a Convention of the Estates[2], (which is their Parliament,) without, and expressly against, the King's consent, and without any colour of law; for the time when by their late Act of Parliament they might of right challenge those meetings was not come by almost a year, and the King had refused to convene them sooner. The kingdom was at unity and peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their neighbours; and the government of all affairs in their hands who were to be confided in, and they, again, ruled and disposed by a few who were throughly engaged in the counsels and discomposures in England; for all those who were visibly affected to the King's service, or

[1] [The *Hist.* is here resumed, at pp. 481–486, for §§ 249–264.]

[2] [The Convention was summoned for June 22, and the General Assembly for Aug. 2, to which the King sent sir Thomas Hope as his commissioner by letter dated July 22.]

disaffected eminently to the persons in authority there, were fled the kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections, of which a full declared zeal and good-will to the Parliament of England was a common evidence. 1643

250. So that the committee found as good a welcome as they could wish, and all men disposed to gain a good opinion with them. A committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Estates and the Assembly, to treat with them, and to make such conclusions as might be thought necessary to advance the peace and happiness of both kingdoms. These men complied with them in their full sense of the sad condition of the affairs of England, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes which should befall them: they said they well understood how much the fate of Scotland was involved in what should befall the Parliament in England, and that if the King prevailed by force, and by the power of his army oppressed those friends who had expressed a tenderness formerly towards them, they had reason to expect the same army should be applied to the revenge of those indignities they would easily persuade his majesty he had suffered from that his native kingdom: and therefore there needed no arguments to persuade them to commiserate the estate of their brethren of England, or to convince them that their case was their own, and their mutual safety bound up together: but that those politic arguments and considerations would have no influence upon the people, who had such a natural affection and loyalty to their sovereign, as no earthly consideration would be able to prevail with them to lessen their obedience towards his majesty; and that, albeit there was no visible party and faction that appeared in the kingdom for the King, yet that there were many well-wishers to him, and maligners in their hearts of the present reformation, who, as soon as there should be any preparation for an army to march into England, would be ready, upon the specious arguments of duty to his majesty and of peace to their country, and might be able, to give great disturbance to the expedition, or to disquiet the realm, when the most eminently affected were marched towards Aug. 9, 15.

1643 the relief of their distressed neighbours; except some obligation of conscience were laid upon the people; who only preferred their piety to God before their inclinations to their prince, and the setting up the kingdom of Jesus Christ before the vindication of his temporal jurisdiction.

251. For such an expedient, therefore, they proposed that a Covenant might be agreed upon between the two kingdoms for the utter extirpation of prelacy, which that kingdom was satisfied to be a great obstruction to the reformation of religion; and the two Houses of Parliament had discovered a sufficient aversion from that government by having passed a bill for their utter abolition; and in the place thereof to erect such a government as should be most agreeable to God's word, which they doubted not would be their own presbytery; and the people being cemented together by such an obligation, would never be severed and disjoined by any temptation.

252. There was an easy consent from the committee of the English to any expedient that might throughly engage the other nation; and so a form of words was quickly agreed on between them for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the Scots, in all such particulars as were most like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being presently communicated to the Convention of Estates and the
Aug. 17. Assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity as was necessary to shew their temper and resolution and to provoke the consent of the two Houses at Westminster; whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification that that people were in such a forwardness to advance that they would be in England as soon as they could be reasonably expected. And it was indeed apparent enough, that, upon the discipline of the late commotions, and the wise presage and foresight of that people, there[1] was nothing requisite to their march but the calling them together.

253. Many were of opinion, that this engagement was proposed rather to decline being engaged in the quarrel than out

[1] ['that there,' MS.]

of hope or imagination that the two Houses would concur with 1643
them; for though there had been a bill passed, before the last treaty with the King, to that purpose, yet they well knew that most of the peers, and persons of quality and interest in the other House, were willing to depart from that overture; besides that amongst those who raged jointly against episcopacy there were so many opinions, that it would be no less difficult to establish their presbytery than to root out the other government, and to which they intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them: so that upon this proposition, which was according to the known temper of that nation, they should preserve themselves plausibly, and without seeming to desert their confederates, from bearing any part in the present troubles. However, it would visibly take up so much time, that, if there were no ebb in the King's prosperity and successes, he might well finish his work, and this interposition be interpreted for a politic stratagem to amuse them. But if this was their stratagem, they met with people too frank-hearted and unscrupulous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the Covenant no sooner came to Westminster but they shewed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet, as well because it was not yet known what success the earl of Essex would have in the relief of Gloster, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon men's affections and conscience, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation and caution, for the information of their judgments, in a new case that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical fabric of the kingdom, they transmitted it to their Assembly of Divines, Sept. 14.
to return their opinion of the lawfulness of taking it in point of conscience.

254. The Assembly, besides that it was constituted of members who had all renounced their obedience to their King and submission to the Church of England by their appearance and presence in that convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the House of Commons: for Dr. Featley, (upon whose reputation in learning[1] they had raised great advantage to themselves,) having

[1] ['and levity of understanding'; *struck out in the MS.*]

1643 made many speeches in the Assembly in the behalf of the order of bishops and their function, and against the alienation of church-lands as sacrilege, and especially inveighed against the liberty that was taken in matter of religion, by which so many sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach of the Protestant doctrine, if not of Christianity itself, had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well confirmed in spirit that they doubted not his failing, or conversion) was directed to make application to him in cases of conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him, (which was no hard matter,) to intimate to him that he had a sure and unquestionable conveyance to Oxford, or that he was to go thither himself, and if he had any occasions to use his service thither he would faithfully execute his commands. The doctor, believing the messenger to be sincere, and the King's affairs standing then prosperous, gave him letters for the archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland, who waited on his majesty; and by this artifice the same instrument received two or three letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands, and brought them always to those persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

255. The letters contained many apologies for himself, for being engaged in such a congregation, to which he submitted purely out of conscience, and for the service of the King and Church, in hope that he might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly spirits within some bounds of regularity and moderation; of his endeavours that way he gave many instances, and sent copies of what he had said in justification of episcopacy, the liturgy, and the established government, and concluded with a desire to his grace to procure a good opinion from the King towards him, and some bishopric or deanery for his recompense. About the time that this agitation was in Scotland, and very little before this Covenant was transmitted, these letters were produced, and a charge against that doctor for betraying the trust reposed in him and adhering
Sept. 30. to the enemy; and thereupon the poor man was expelled the Assembly of Divines, both his livings (for he had two within a

very small distance of London [1]) sequestered, his study of books and estates seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befell him the sooner through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way. 1643 1645. Apr. 17.

256. This fresh example the Assembly of godly and learned Divines had before their eyes when this Covenant was sent to them for their consideration and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required, that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it, there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing they had received satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and that they were fully convinced of the lawfulness and piety of it. Sept. 15.

257. Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbery being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts than the Assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both Houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the Lords and Commons and their Assembly of Divines met together at the church, with great solemnity, to take it, on the five and twentieth day of September; a double holy-day, by the earl of Essex his triumphant return to London, and this religious exercise. There, two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, Sept. 18. Sept. 25.

That this oath was such, and in the matter and consequence of it of such concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, yea of all these kingdoms, yea of all the kingdoms of the world: that it could be no other but the result and answer of such prayers and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings, that three kingdoms should be thus born, or rather new born, in a day: that they were entering upon a work of the greatest moment, and concernment to themselves and to their posterities after them, that ever was undertaken by any of them, or any of their forefathers before them; that it was a duty of the first commandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest order

[1] [Lambeth and Acton.]

1643 and rank of duties; therefore must come forth attended with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the greatest simplicity and plainness of spirit, in respect of those with whom they covenanted; that it was to advance the kingdom of Christ here upon earth, and make Jerusalem once more the praise of the whole earth, notwithstanding all the contradictions of men;

with many such high expressions, which can hardly be conceived without the view of the records and registry that is kept of them.

258. It will be here most necessary, that posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion in which two nations with such wonderful unanimity did agree, and which was calculated for the meridian of a third kingdom, for Ireland is likewise comprehended in it, to insert this League and Covenant in the precise terms in which it was received and entered into; which was in these words:—

259. *A solemn League and Covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

'We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, and commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the honour and happiness of the King's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion, and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the Church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the Church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have now at last, (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn league and covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

1. 'That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline,

and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion 1643
in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. 'That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is, church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one in the three kingdoms.

3. 'We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness, with our consciences, of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness.

4. 'We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, [or] making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this league and covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. 'And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

6. 'We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter [into] this league and covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifference or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the

1643 kingdoms, and the honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever. And what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make it known, that it may be timely prevented or removed. All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

'And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our [own] sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us: and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.'

260. As soon as this solemnity was over, (which was concluded by Mr. Henderson, the sole ecclesiastical commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland, who magnified what they had done, and assured them of great success after it by the experience of that nation, who from their union in their first covenant found nothing hard they proposed to themselves, and told them that were that covenant now painted upon the wall within the Pope's palace it would doubtless put him into Belshazzar's quaking condition,) the Speaker and Commons (having first set their hands to the Covenant, after they had taken it) returned to their House; and observing that many of their members were that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be guessed, they ordered that as soon as they came into the House the Covenant should be tendered to them, and who-

soever refused to take it should be proceeded against as a dis- 1643
affected person, in such manner as the House should think fit.

261. And they farther made a special order, that all the Sept. 25.
ministers of the parish-churches within London and Westminster, the suburbs, and the whole line of communication, should read and explain the Covenant to their several congregations, and stir them up, the next fast day, to the cheerful taking of it: and particular care was taken that all the students of the Inns of Court should be persuaded to receive it. But over and above these general directions, there was a particular ceremony and application to recommend this Covenant to the city and corporation of London, and another use to be made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring but to keep men together, and the taking it had only inclined the Scots to march to their assistance; they were to have one hundred thousand pounds advanced to them, and paid at Edinborough, before they would stir; and how to advance this great sum was not easy to resolve. All their ordinances for levying money were spent; their issues and disbursements so vast that no income was sufficient; their exchequer was exhausted, and even their public faith bankrupt: such anticipations upon all kind of receipts, for monies borrowed and already spent, that they had no capital for future security.

262. The judicature of the House of Peers (though their number was but ten, for there was no more at the sentence of justice Barkly) had helped them all they could. Justice Barkly, who had been committed by them to the Tower shortly 1641
after the beginning of the Parliament upon a charge of high Feb. 13.
treason, and since the beginning of the war permitted by them to sit as sole judge in the King's Bench one whole term, was now brought to judgment, and by their lordships fined the sum Sept. 12.
of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of judicature; and upon an abatement of half, and his liberty, [he] paid the other ten thousand pounds together to those persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the King alone and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was

1643 Oct. 19. sentenced. Baron Trevour, who was fined for the same offence, and suffered still to continue the same office in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more [1]. But these petty sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drowth they sustained. So that the reputation and security of this Covenant was, amongst other uses, to bring in money too.

263. And to that purpose, a committee of Lords and Commons, with some of their divines of the Assembly, was sent to the Guild-hall, where the mayor had called a Common Council for their reception, to recommend to them the wonderful advantage and strength their party should gain by taking, and being united in, this Covenant, and the desperate condition they were like to be in without it. If the Scots came not to their assistance, which without this obligation they could not do, they were in danger to be overwhelmed by the enemy, or at least to make a disadvantageous and dishonourable peace with them, which yet they could not tell how it would be observed and kept. On the other hand, by this famous accession of strength of a whole nation, they should undoubtedly be able to master the war, and to make those who had been the causers of it defray the charge; and so, all the public debts being discharged out of the estates of delinquents and malignants, the kingdom would not be at all impoverished; and the peace which should hereafter be made with the King would be sure to be inviolably observed by the strength of this union, and therefore that it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

264. It was, they said, neither covetousness, nor want of affection and zeal to their relief, that the Scots, who took their cause to heart as their own, desired an advance of money before they drew their army into England, but pure necessity, and the poverty of that kingdom, already exhausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their soldiers together for the good of this. And if there had been money enough in that country to have been procured upon the public stock and revenue, or the mortgage of private estates, to which all men were forward for

[1] [£6,000.]

the public good, their love to their brethren here was such that 1643
they would neither have asked nor received money for their assistance after it had proved effectual; much less, before the yielding it. For evidence of which frank and brotherly inclination, they freely offered the engagement of their own estates for the repayment of the money that should be advanced: which was the first time that ever land in Scotland had been offered for security of money in the city of London. In the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant; magnified the Scotch nation with all imaginable attributes of esteem and reverence, a nation that had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a more extraordinary way, than any nation this day upon the face of the earth had done, a nation that had reformed their lives for so small a time more than ever any people that they knew of in the world had done, a nation that God had honoured by giving as glorious success unto as ever he did unto any:—and very earnestly desired the loan of a hundred thousand pounds. The rhetoric and the zeal prevailed; a hundred thousand pounds was promised, and shortly provided, and sent to Edinborough; and the assurance of the Scots coming so full, that they were looked upon as masters of Newcastle already; with such an alacrity all things were transacted [1].

[1] [The *Hist.* is continued as follows, at pp. 486–7, the *Life* being taken up, at p. 248, for §§ 265, 267–75, 266 being again from the *Hist.*:—

1. 'There was not the same union and concurrence in the King's quarters. As soon as the King came to Oxford, instead of any man's contributing his advice and assistance for what was next to be done, every man took great freedom in censuring what was past. Many cried out upon the sitting down before Gloster, not only as a very unskilful act, but perfidiously designed by those who wished not that the King's affairs should prosper and were corrupted by the Parliament; and this clamour was improved by the discourses of those who had left them after the loss of Bristol, and reported that the prime leaders and governors in both Houses then declared that all their hope was that the King would be persuaded to engage before Gloster, which if he should not do, and marched directly towards London, they were undone; and that out of the apprehension of such a resolution in the King many [2] of the principal and most obnoxious members and citizens, who had been most active, had shipped their estates for Holland, and kept vessels ready for their own transportation. But as the first was a calumny

[2] ['that many,' MS.]

1643 265. That violent party in the parliament which never intended any peace with the King, and had more desperate without the least ground and colour, there being then no person of credit with the King in his counsels who was not of unblemished integrity to his cause, so the other fancy of marching towards London was much more unreasonable than the course which was taken. For besides that the King's army was exceeding small (I speak of the body of his foot) when he marched from Bristol, though it increased wonderfully before Gloster, it cannot be imagined, if the earl of Essex was able to draw out the train-bands and auxiliaries of London (which was the strength of his army) to march as far as Gloster, he would [not] have engaged a far greater body of them to have met the King nearer London. Indeed, if after the taking of Bristol the King had marched into Hampshire, and so advanced through Sussex (which stood generally well inclined to his service) into Kent, where there were about that time some commotions and insurrections of the people, which being seconded and formed might have grown very terrible to the Parliament, and without any countenance from the King gave them some trouble, and were not dispersed without blood; and at the same time, if the marquis
Oct. 27. of Newcastle, (for the King had now conferred that dignity upon him,) who
June 30. had then totally defeated the lord Fayrfax and driven him into Hull, which was the only shelter the enemy had in that large, rich, populous county, had advanced with his full power into the associated counties, through Lincolnshire into Norfolk, where the people had suffered long and grievously under the Parliament, and had now taken so much courage that the town of Lynn, a port and harbour strongly situated, by the virtue of the inhabitants especially, and encouragement of some gentlemen of the county retired thither, shut their gates against the earl of Manchester, and endured near a month's siege [1], it might very much have troubled the Parliament to have divided their strength into two armies; and the distempers within the city of London would probably have produced some confusion, when it should have been manifest that that city was to provide out of itself two armies to send out, and power enough for its own security and defence. But since the unhappy temper of the north was such that it was rather thought to carry that victorious and flourishing army before the walls of Hull than to make a progress southward, where probably it would not have met a resistance it could not remove, I am still of the opinion that the King's sitting down before Gloster (however it succeeded) was the next best, and in reason to be preferred far before marching towards London, or going nearer London upon its single confidence. And no doubt, according to the fate in war, where whatsoever proves unfortunate in the execution is concluded to be improvident in the counsel, if the enterprise upon Bristol (which was in reason more likely to have miscarried than the other afterwards was upon Gloster) had not succeeded, that counsel (which upon the event was generally applauded) would have been as severely censured, and it would have been then thought, (and it may be upon as much reason,) that upon the defeat of Waller, when the body of Cornish foot was unfoiled, and the King's forces received so great an addition by the access of that guard

[1] [It was surrendered on Sept. 16.]

mutations in their purposes than they avowed, even amongst 1643
those who concurred with them in all they desired, did not

which attended the Queen out of the north, was the time to have found out the earl of Essex's broken and dismayed army, and to have followed them to the walls of London, with messages of grace and favour to the city and overtures of pardon to the Houses, and that the winning of Bristol was not to be put into the scale against the other opportunity.

2. 'Others, who approved, or at least thought the engaging before Gloster was not uncounsellable, were as censorious of the conduct afterwards; that a body of seven thousand horse (for at that time the King's army consisted of no less) should suffer the earl of Essex to march four days together over the fairest campania in England without disturbance, and that the whole army should not give him battle before he descended the hill into Gloster; that it had been easy, by the advantage of the situation, and so many horse as might have been spared for that purpose, to have kept the besieged within their walls, and to have fought upon great advantage even before the town; that after the city was relieved, the earl's marching twenty miles on his journey towards London before it was known what was become of him, argued most supine negligence in some officers; and that after the enemy were overtaken, and prevented at Newbery upon so great advantage, the beginning the battle without order, and against the resolution in council, (for which no man was ever afterwards called in question,) was never heard of before in a regular army. And there wanted not some who accused even eminent commanders of want of courage as well as conduct in that day's service, and that by such lashity [1] an opportunity or two was lost, which being pursued had made the day very glorious to the King, with a great, if not full, defeat of the enemy. Which aspersions may be presumed to proceed from the melancholic of the loss, and the licence that all men take to censure after such misfortunes, imagining the liberty of discourse to be a kind of justice where the damage and mischieve is universal. Yet it cannot be denied that the spirit and mettle and courage of gallant men is not still the same, many being much more daring and cheerful at some times in enterprises of great hazard and apparent danger, than at other times in matters of less difficulty though of equal concernment; and we often see men very sprightly and vigorously enter upon sharp encounters, and when they find more resistance and opposition than they expected, they grow suddenly weary, and even dismayed because the enemy is not. Our experience has showed us many examples of those who have had extraordinary fame of courage in duels, and have gone with a kind of delight always upon such contentions, and yet have been so fearful to walk amongst bullets or within the danger of them, that they have avoided it with great reproach and scandal when their duty obliged them not to retire or to be absent. On the contrary, others who would enter a breach, or stand in one with a disdain of all shot, have been very hardly drawn (not by any reluctation of conscience) to an emulous contestation with a sword, and when they have entered into it have behaved themselves marvellous untowardly

[1] [Sluggishness; *lacheté*. See book v. 448, where a more correct form, 'lashty,' is used.]

1643 think themselves secure in the affection of the people nor in those who had the greatest trust in their affairs. They had

by the strength and power of their fear. Again, we have known many very worthy men, (and it may be in the first form of gallantry,) who on a sudden surprise of danger unexpected have confessed great confusion in their countenance and whole demeanour, but upon second thoughts and recollection, or upon a foresight of peril, have composed themselves to a steadiness of temper and resolution which no disadvantage hath been able to amate or disturb; and, on the other side, many who have been quick and undaunted upon exigents and sudden violent alarums, and upon the prospect and continuance of the hazard have shrunk below a manly boldness. Lastly, there want not examples of many, who, beyond that degree of their age in which the blood is warmest and most inclined to adventures, have lain under the just imputation of not daring, even to an irresistance of injuries, and yet, being once engaged, and acquainted with the face and custom of danger, have proved hardy and forward to wonder, and, like butchers in a fence-school, with their rude fury have discountenanced and discomposed the cunning, skill, and resolution of any adversary; and we have been told of others, who, having been nursed up in war, and eaten the bread only of purchase and adventures for the first part of their lives, before their meridian have declined to so dull an appetite of danger as if they had not the same souls. Which may persuade us rather that courage is not the thing we take it to be than that there are several species and kinds of it, and that all bold actions and incursions into danger proceed not from that excellent habit and fearlessness of the mind which is truly and properly called courage, but from a want of science and comprehension of the danger a man seems to despise. He that is ready at all hours, and upon all unnecessary occasions, to enter the field in a duel, it may be wholly depends upon his own skill and the unskilfulness of his adversary, and, though he hath subdued his conscience to a carelessness of shedding of blood and committing a murder, hath not the least apprehension of losing his own [life], or of danger in the enterprise; and where there is no apprehension of danger there is no present exercise of courage. And it may be, many who stoutly advance upon a breach may not have a sense of the hazard they undergo, but, keeping their old motion they are used to, consider that there are so many more to be hit besides themselves that there is reason enough to believe they may escape; or, possibly, there may be visibly more danger in running away than in doing one's duty, and then there goes not much courage to the election. And if these and such like fancies and imaginations, and other vain passions and affections, had not a great place and force in our most hazardous and desperate undertakings, but that it was a real contempt of death (which true courage presupposes) that carried us on, it were not possible that the approach or threatening of that death which we seem to invite, in a hurt or a wound, possibly a very easy slight one, the sight of our own blood, could so much confound the present faculties of the mind that we are more afraid of death that we were before of disgrace. I speak not of the discomfort and agony and compunction which the weakness upon wounds, and effusion of blood and spirits, and the

seen the great change in the Houses, in the city, and in the 1643
country, upon their late ill successes, the defeat of Waller and the loss of Bristol: and though the earl of Essex still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favoured one of those men upon whom they most depended, but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by him, or in his confidence, were men of no principles which they liked, nor desired any other alteration in the government than of persons who acted in it. Therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of spirit, and when looked upon themselves as swallowed up by the King's power, to move that they might send into Scotland to their brethren there, to join with them, and to assist them with an army, that so they might, by such a conjunction, have an *appui* that might make them so considerable as to be treated with, and to receive conditions which might preserve them from ruin: which proposition, being for so common an interest and benefit, received a general concurrence; and so that committee of both Houses were presently July 20.

influence of conscience, and sober, pious, and recollected thoughts, may bring upon a man with the sense of the ill he hath done, but of those (as many such there are) who, in the instant of a hurt, in their full vigour, before the blood or spirits have made any other impression upon their strength than the feeling they are hurt, have lost the delight in what they had done, and the will to do more, and have been full of those fears afterwards which they appeared to have been so much without before. Neither could that man, who without remorse had slain so many men, probably so many friends, in duels, if he had ever seriously thought of meeting death there, with such abominable paleness and trepidation entertain it when he is presented to it by the hand of justice as a malefactor; for the results of conscience and repentance settle and confirm the courage to suffer bravely what is either just or unavoidable, not distract and enfeeble it; but all that ugly terror proceeds from the presence of death, which he always feared, and could not now avoid. That courage therefore is the best which is most opposite to fear; and as fear is nothing else (if you will believe Solomon [1]) but a betraying of the succours which reason offers, so courage is nothing else but such a temper and healthy constitution of mind as keeps the supplies of reason always ready, and does all things without fear, and leaves nothing undone for fear which reason dictates to be his duty; and he that fears to meet death where he should not be, and dares do his duty against any hazards, will give the best argument of courage, and meet death in a better posture than they who pretend to seek him in a noise and vapour of bold and unnecessary undertakings.']

[1] [Wisdom xvii. 12.]

1643 July 20. sent into Scotland, to put them in mind of their joint concernment, and how impossible it would be for them long to enjoy the great concessions they had obtained from the King when the Parliament of England, by whose friendship, power, and authority they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such conditions for their particular preservations as the King would think fit to give them[1]. But they were no less startled, when they found this message had obliged them to a present expense of a hundred thousand pounds before there was any visible relief given them, and saw themselves involved in new obligations of guilt and to purposes they abhorred.

266. There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the progress of these distractions than that this Covenant did with such extraordinary expedition pass the two Houses, when all the leading persons in those councils were at the same time known to be as great enemies to presbytery, (the establishment whereof was the sole end of this Covenant,) as they were to the King or the Church; and he who contributed most to it, and who, in truth, was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, sir Harry Vane, the younger, was not afterwards known to abhor the Covenant and the presbyterians [more] than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then as much as ever he did afterwards.

267. He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned

[1] [The following sentences are here struck out in the MS. :—'and as they may merit by accepting; and therefore that the Parliament expected and desired that they would forthwith give them such an assistance as might be sufficient to preserve them both, which could be no other way than by immediately sending a good army into England, which would countenance and support their friends in the north, and keep the earl of Newcastle from being able to march towards London on that side, whilst the King encompassed them on the other; which was the present design. Sir Harry Vane the younger was one of the commissioners, and therefore the other need not be named, since he was all in any business where others were joined with him.' The next sentence in the text above ('But they,' &c.) is inserted in the margin after the words 'give them,' and is not in Clarendon's own hand.]

the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he 1643
had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation which excelled in craft and dissembling: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, which could not be otherwise prevailed upon than by advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute presbytery to an extirpation, and very near brought their purpose to pass.

268. The nation of Scotland, in general, had been so fully satisfied in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be spectators of what was done in England, without engaging themselves in the quarrel; and though there were some powerful men amongst them whose guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure than by the King's want of power to call them to justice, yet their number was not thought so great as to be able to corrupt the people into a barefaced act of rebellion, nor had they any such face of authority as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propose it; the King had absolutely refused to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a year to come before a Parliament could be assembled without the King's consent; and in that time the King might have the better of his enemies. The commissioners of the Parliament had not been long at Edinborough before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which duke Hambleton, and others who pretended great devotion to the King and were of the Council, had promised the King to oppose, and said they were powerful enough to prevent. When it came to the point, duke Hambleton, (being one way or other

1643 persuaded himself,) persuaded others that the absolute refusal to suffer a Parliament to be called would not quiet the debate nor secure the King, but more inflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it, and so would carry it: and therefore that they were better be absent at first, whereby they [the others] might without opposition send out their summons for a Parliament to assemble at the day they thought fit; and then, as they who would serve the King would not be there, so they should prevail with as many others as they could not to be there likewise; whereby the number which appeared would be so inconsiderable that they would not dare to sit, but presently disperse; and this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and render those who advised it odious to the people, as men who desired illegally to engage the nation in unjustifiable ways to disturb the public peace.

§ 249. 269. A summons was [accordingly] sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time those of the nobility and gentry who did really desire to serve the King applied themselves to duke Hambleton, (whose advice and orders the King himself had required them to observe, unhappily still believing him to be faithful,) to know what they should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, that they should take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their friends with them, whereby they might make a good body of horse, and so, with their arms in their hands, they would declare against the legality of that Parliament and the meeting in it; and named a fit opportunity to him for such a meeting, at the funeral of a lady which was to be within some days, and when, according to the custom of that people, great numbers of persons of quality use to assemble, to do honour to the dead in the last obsequies. He told them he believed it must come shortly to that remedy, but he conceived it not yet time, and that such a meeting would fright the people, and increase the number in Parliament, and make many resort to them for their directions. And he said that he had likewise changed his former opinion concerning their own

being absent at that time of the meeting of the Parliament, 1643
since their mere absence would not be discountenance enough, and that they who sat would carry the reputation of a Parliament, and the people would be guided by them if there were nothing but their absence to work upon their inclinations and affections.

270. He proposed therefore to them that they might all resolve to be present, and take their places; and that when the House should be sat, and any man should stand up to propose the taking any business into consideration, he (the duke) would first make his protestation against proceeding in so illegal a convention, and then they should all make the same protestation; and he did hope that the number of the protesters would be great enough to dissolve the meeting, and they should put the best end to the matter that could be desired: but if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the time to withdraw and put themselves in arms, towards which he would make the best preparation he could, and desired them to do the like. The earl of Kynoole [Kinnoull] and some others made objections against this expedient, and pressed the former meeting at the funeral, till the duke told them the King liked the other way better, and pulled out a letter out of his pocket which he had received from his majesty, and read them so much of it as contained his approbation that they should meet in the Parliament; with which determination they could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the same time that his majesty was betrayed.

271. The Parliament met at the day; and duke Hambleton, June 22.
according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a protestation against the meeting: upon which many of the lords who had always been most engaged against the King were very warm, and demanded that he should declare himself clearly, whether he did protest against the Parliament; whereupon his brother the earl of Lanrick, who was Secretary of State to the King, stood up, and said that he hoped that noble lord's affection to his country was better known than that any man could imagine he would protest against the Parliament of the kingdom; and then the

1643 duke himself explained, and excused himself, and said he meant no such thing: and so they declared that they would treat with the commissioners who were sent from the Parliament of England, and appointed commissioners for that purpose.

272. Some are of opinion that even at this time they did not intend to engage in the war against the King; but that as a few men cozened the Parliament at Westminster, by persuading that they desired only a safe peace, till by multiplication of indignities they made it impossible to make a peace that would appear safe, so that there were as small a number in Scotland that over-reached the Parliament there, by persuading that they never intended to do any thing against the King, but that it would be too ingrateful a thing, and render them very odious to the whole English nation, if, after they had received so many obligations from the Parliament, to whose protection they owed their religion and all that they enjoyed, they should refuse so much as to treat with them, and to assist them by their interposition to procure a good peace for them with the King; which would be a great honour to them, and would be as great an obligation to his majesty as to the Parliament; that this was all that was in their thoughts, and that they would avoid any engagement in a war, not by rejecting the proposition, but by making such demands as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament. Thereupon they told the commissioners from the Parliament, that it would be impossible to engage that nation in a joint concurrence with them against the King but by the influence and authority of their Kirk; and that it would be as impossible to procure the consent of their Kirk, except by making it evident to them that the government of the Church in England should be reduced to the same model with theirs in Scotland, and that episcopacy should be totally extirpated, and that all deans and chapters should be utterly abolished, without which they said they could never think their own government securely established; but if such a promise might be solemnly made, their Kirk would be throughly engaged, and the nation to a man would enter into the quarrel.

273. Sir H. Vane was not surprised with the proposition, 1643
which he had long foreseen, and came resolved to pay their own price for their friendship. Thereupon the Covenant was prepared, and other propositions made for the present furnishing a great sum of money, to enable them to begin their levies; and many extravagant conditions proposed, for the payment of the army and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the commissioners would yield, or that the Parliament could perform if they were yielded unto. Nothing of money or honour was insisted upon, and they came provided with some letters of credit, that as little time might be lost as was possible in making all necessary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of difficulty; they knowing well that many of their greatest friends, both in the Parliament and the army, had [not] any mind to change the government of the Church, to which the people generally were not disaffected.

274. Sir Ha[rry] Vane therefore (who equally hated episcopacy and presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the Covenant, and after he altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he and his fellow commissioners signed the Aug. 17.
whole treaty; whereby it was provided that the Covenant should be taken throughout all his majesty's dominions; that a committee of the Scots should always sit with the close committee at Westminster, for the carrying on of the war with equal authority; that there should be no treaty of peace with the King without the joint consent of the Parliaments of both kingdoms; and many other particulars very derogatory to the honour of the English nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the close committee at Westminster, in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of Gloster; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed. Sept. 18.

275. And thereupon the Parliament at Edinburgh resolved Aug. 26.
to raise a great army and to invade England; and their old

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1643 general Lashly, who had so solemnly promised the King not only never to bear arms against him but to serve him, let the cause be what it would, without any hesitation undertook the command of it. All this time duke Hambleton looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first proclamation was Aug. 18. prepared, in the King's name, for a general rendezvous[1] of all men, from such an age to such an age[2], at such a time and place, that so their army might be presently formed, the earl of Lanrick put the King's signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said proclamation: and all this being done, both the brothers left Scotland, to give the King an account at Oxford of all the proceedings: many of the nobility of that kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the King, having come away from thence after the first day's meeting of their Parliament, and when the duke had broken his promise to them, and informed his majesty at large of that which they thought foul infidelity.

276[3]. The discomposures, jealousies, and disgusts, which reigned at Oxford, produced great inconveniences; and as, many times, men in a scuffle lose their weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their adversaries, who again arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the fortune of the King's armies in the encounters with the enemy: for those under the King's commanders grew insensibly into all the license, disorder, and impiety, with which they had reproached the rebels; and they, again, into great discipline, diligence, and sobriety, which begat courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in achievements and enterprises. Insomuch as one side seemed to fight for monarchy with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the King and government with all the principles and regularity of monarchy.

277. In the beginning of the troubles, the King had very prudently resolved with himself to confer no honours, or bestow

[1] [Wherever this word occurs, Clarendon writes it 'randevooze.']

[2] [Between 60 and 16.]

[3] [The *History* is here resumed, at p. 487.]

any offices or preferments upon any, till the end and conclusion 1643
of the service; and if that resolution had continued he would have found much ease by it, and his service great advantage. The necessity and exigents of the war shortly after made some breach into this seasonable resolution, and, for ready money to carry on the war, his majesty was compelled, against his nature, to dispense some favours, which he would not willingly have suffered to be purchased but by virtue and high merit. Then all men thought money and money-worth to be all one, and that whosoever by his service had deserved a reward of money had deserved any thing that might be had for money. And when it was apparent that the war was like to prove a business of time, it was thought unreasonable that the King would not confer rewards on some, which he was able to do, because he could not do it on all, which was confessedly out of his power. And so, by importunity, and upon the title of old promises, and some conveniences of his service, he bestowed honours upon some principal officers of his army, and offices upon others; [to] which though in the particulars no just exceptions could be taken, yet many were angry to see some preferred; and, not so much extolling their own merit and services [as[1]] making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every man thought himself neglected and slighted in that another was better esteemed.

278. And this poison of envy wrought upon many natures which had skill enough not to confess it. The soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another, (there being unhappy animosities amongst the principal officers,) yet they were too well united and reconciled against any other body of men; and, thinking the King's crown depended wholly on the fortune of their swords, believed no other persons to be considerable, and no councils fit to be consulted with but the martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholesome constitution of the kingdom, the militia, garrisons, and all martial power, is purely and naturally subordinate, and by the authority and prudence whereof provision could be only

[1] ['and,' MS.]

1643 reasonably expected for the countenance and support of the army.

279. The general and prince Rupert were both strangers to the government and manners of the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the nobility, and public ministers, or with their rights: and the prince's heart was so wholly set upon actions of war, that he not only neglected but too much contemned the peaceable and civil arts which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And, certainly, somewhat like that which Plutarch says of soothsaying[1], that Octavius lost his life by trusting to it and that Marius prospered the better because he did not altogether despise it, may be said of popularity: though he that too immoderately and importunately affects it (which was the case of the earl of Essex) will hardly continue innocent, yet he who too affectedly despises or neglects what is said of him, or what is generally thought of persons or things, and too stoically contemns the affections of men, even of the vulgar, (be his other abilities and virtues what can be imagined,) will in some conjuncture of time find himself very unfortunate. And it may be, a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes that hopeful young prince (who had great parts of mind as well as vigour of body, and incomparable personal courage) underwent, and the kingdom by it, than that roughness and unpolishedness of his nature which rendered him less patient to hear, and consequently less skilful to judge of those things which should have guided him in the discharge of his important trust: and thence making an unskilful judgment of the unusefulness of the Councils by his observation of the infirmities and weakness of the particular councillors, he grew to a full disesteem of the acts of that board, which must be accounted venerable as long as the regal power is exercised in England.

280. And I cannot but on this occasion continue this digression thus much farther, to observe, that they who avoid public debates in Council, or think them of less moment, upon the undervaluing the persons of the councillors, and from the

[1] [in *Vit. C. Marii.*]

particular infirmities of men, the heaviness of this man, the levity of that, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude that their advice and opinions are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived, and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in wisdom as it is in beauty. A face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception cannot be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent beauty, and be more catching than another whose symmetry is more faultless. So there are many men, who in this particular argument may be unskilful, in that affected, who may seem to have levity, or vanity, or formality, in ordinary and cursory conversation, (a very crooked rule to measure any man's abilities, and gives a better evidence of the nature than of the understanding,) and yet in formed counsels, deliberations, and transactions, are men of great insight and wisdom, and from whom excellent assistance is contributed. 1643

281. And, no question, all great enterprises and designs that are to be executed have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the survey and disquisition of several faculties and abilities, and equally for the decision of sharper and more phlegmatic understandings. And we often hear in debates of great moment animadversions of more weight and consequence from those whose ordinary conversation is not so delightful, than from men of more sublime parts. Certainly Solomon very well understood himself when he said, *In the multitude of counsellors there is safety*[1]. And though it were confessed that reason would be better stated and discovered, and conclusions easier made, by a few than a greater number, yet when the execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends upon the success, and the success upon the interpretation, we see those counsels most prosperous whereof the considerations and deliberations have been measured by that standard which is most publicly received and acknowledged. And he hath had but small experience in the managing affairs,

[1] [Prov. xi. 14.]

1643 who is not able experimentally to name to himself some very good and useful conclusions which have therefore only succeeded amiss because not communicated to those who had reason to believe themselves competent parties to any secret. For there was never yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of men, that they were long willing to be left out in those transactions to the privacy whereof they had a right; and therefore they have been willing enough any single advice should miscarry, (of what general concernment soever,) rather than to contribute to the fame of one man who hath thought their approbation not worth the providing for. And though the objection of secrecy and despatch seems to favour a small number and a reservation of communicating, yet (except in those few cases which in their nature are to be consulted and acted together, and the full execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconvenience will be greater by a necessary delay, or even such a discovery as can be supposed to proceed from the levity of a counsellor, (—futile and malicious natures ought not to be supposed to be admitted into that rank of men,—) than by wanting the approbation and concurrence of those (admitting there could be no benefit from their information) who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to or take from the success, at least the reputation. And from this root much of the negligence and disrespect towards the civil councils proceeded. For as all corporations, tribes, and fraternities suffer most by the malignity of some of their own members, so the jealousy and indisposition of some councillors contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the order, and, in them, upon the King.

282. Amongst those who were nearest the King's trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest secrets in his affairs, there were some who from private (though very good) conditions of life, without such an application to Court as usually ushered those promotions, were ascended to that preferment, and believed to have an equal interest with any in their master's estimation. And these were sure to find no more charity from the Court than from the army; and, having had lately so many equals, it was thought no presumption freely to censure all that they did

or spake, what effect soever such freedom had upon the public 1643
policy and transactions. It were to be wished that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge and all other qualifications necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes out of them might always choose men fit for all employments and high trusts; which would exceedingly advance their service, when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy which naturally attends upon those promotions which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the charges with which they are intrusted must proportionably suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, temper, and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard in the morning of preferment to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place [which] is committed to him, (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand unchaste attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too vile for such a trust,) and the caution that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly upon the privilege of his place; which will expose him to much more contempt than the former, and therefore to be, with a more exact guard upon a man's self, avoided: the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

283. The best provision that such men can make for their voyage, besides a stock of innocence that cannot be impaired, and a firm confidence in God Almighty that he will never suffer that innocence to be utterly oppressed or notoriously infamed, is, an expectation of those gusts and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice, but to believe that, by being

1643 preferred before other men, they have an obligation upon them to suffer more than other men would do, and that the best way to convince scandals and misreports is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. And there is not a more troublesome inconvenient passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience, when men cannot endure to be spoken ill of when they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they free themselves from the errors or infirmities with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others of which they had been never suspected. In a word, let no man think, that is once entered into this list, that he can by any skill or comportment prevent these conflicts and assaults, or by any stubborn or impetuous humour that he can suppress and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as a purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence and time for a vindication; and by performing all the duties of his place to the end, with justice, integrity, and uprightness, give all men cause to believe that he was worthy of it the first hour; which is a triumph very lawful to be affected.

284. As these distempers and indispositions and infirmities of particular men had a great influence upon the public affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the King's designs, so no particular man was more disquieted by them than the King himself, who, in his person as well as in his business, suffered all the vexation of the rude and petulant and discontented humours of Court and army. His majesty now paid interest for all the benefit and advantage he had received in the beginning of the war by his gentleness and princely affability to all men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of majesty, which he had in his life before observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any addresses and overtures for his service, and to hold discourse with all men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints and murmurs and humours of all, and, how frivolous and unreasonable soever the cause was, his

majesty was put both to inform and temper their understand- 1643
ings. No man would receive an answer but from himself, and expected a better from him than he must have been contented to have received from any body else. Every man magnified the services he had done, and his ability and interest to do greater, and proposed honour and reward equal to both in his own sense; and if he received not an answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained he was neglected, and resolved, (or pretended so,) to quit the service, and to travel into some foreign kingdom. He is deceived that believes the ordinary carriage and state of a king to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his greatness. They are the outworks, which preserve majesty itself from approaches and surprisal. We find that the queen of Sheba was amazed at the meat of Solomon's table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cup-bearers, &c. as so great instances of Solomon's wisdom that *there was no more spirit in her*[1]. And, no doubt, whosoever inconsiderately departs from those forms and trappings, and ornaments of his dignity and pre-eminence, will hardly at some time be able to preserve the body itself of majesty from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

285. And let no man think that the King had now no hard task to master these troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of royal severity would easily have dispersed these clouds. The disease was too violent and catching, and the contagion too universal, to be cured by that remedy; neither were the symptoms or effects the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined into how many several shapes men's indispositions were put, and the many artifices which were used to get honours, offices, preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One man had been named for such a place, that is, himself and his friends had given it out that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest to pretend to it; and upon this vogue he had a title; and if it should be conferred upon another it would be a mark of the King's disfavour to him, and thereby

[1] [2 Chron. ix. 4.]

1643 he should lose the ability and credit without which he could do no farther service. Another suggested that his friends and companions in consort had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of favour it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No man was so hard-hearted to himself as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and he commonly had best success who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness and importunity, neither was there a better or another reason for some men's preferment than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest natures to find forward men had so good fortune that the want of success began to be imputed to want of wit.

286. I remember, once, a person of good quality, and of a good name in action, came to me very pensive, and told me how conscientiously he had served the King, without any private designs, or other thoughts than the discharge of his own duty and rendering the performance of that duty acceptable to his majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found that he had been misrepresented to the King, and that his majesty had entertained a sinister opinion of him; and desired me to learn what the ground of the prejudice was, and by my good testimony to endeavour to remove it. I had a very good opinion of the person, and believed the King had so, and therefore persuaded him that the jealousy was groundless, and pressed to know from whence he received those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me that he had his advertisements from a sure hand, which was to be concealed, not doubted; and that upon my inquiry I would find it true, though he could not imagine the cause. I promised him I would press the King very heartily in it, and if there were anything that stuck with him, I presumed his majesty would be so gracious [as] to let me know it. And accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his majesty, I told him the true narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that gentleman, and besought his majesty, if any ill offices had been done to him, or that any

prejudice towards him was lodged in his royal breast, that he 1643
would graciously vouchsafe to tell me what it was, and that he would allow him an access to clear himself from any imputations. The King very cheerfully assured me that he had not only a very good opinion of that gentleman, but that he was most assured he had no real suspicion to the contrary; and therefore bad me proceed to the other part of my business. I told him I had no more, and that I was sure I should make a very happy man by satisfying him [of] what I found. 'Then,' said the King, 'you are not throughly instructed, for the other half of this business must be a suit.' I replied, if that were so I was yet more ignorant than I suspected myself. The gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some expressions the King had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto that I verily believed he had had his heart's desire. But the next morning he came to me again, and told me that I had made him abundantly happy, and that he doubted not there was no just ground for the other reports, but only the malice of those who wished them true; yet that they had lessened his credit abroad, even with his friends, and that he found there was no way to keep up his reputation and interest in the world, whereby he might be able to do the King service, which was all he looked after, but the receiving some testimony of the King's good opinion, which would be a public evidence that the other discourses were false. I was surprised, and as much out of countenance as he should have been, and advised him to patience, and to expect the King's own time and method, rather than to quicken him by any importunity, which would give an ill relish to any obligation. He would not understand that philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him, not without some implication that without some such earnest of his majesty's goodness he should not be able to continue in his service; which probably

1643 was one of the modestest addresses which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied this way the King's trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more vexation and trouble from the indisposition and humours of his own people than from the enemy, or the apprehension of their counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it to be no less a part of history, and more useful to posterity, to leave a character of the times than of the persons, or the narrative of matters of fact, which cannot be so well understood as by knowing the genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

287. The best expedient his majesty could find to dispel these fumes was motion and action; and therefore, though the season of the year was too far spent, and too many officers hurt, for the taking the field again, besides that many regiments were returned to their old posts, (as the Welsh, to defend their own country from the incursions from Gloster, and to reduce some towns in Pembrokeshire, which, lying on the sea, by the help of the Parliament-ships, began to fortify and gather strength,) yet he resolved his forces about Oxford should not lie still.

288. In the beginning of October, prince Rupert, with a strong party of horse, foot, and dragoons, marched into Bedfordshire, and took the town of Bedford, and in it a party of the enemy, who used it only as a strong quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance sir Lewis Dyves, whilst he
Oct. 6. fortified Newport Pannell, where he hoped to fix a garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the northern parts, and restrained the commerce between London and their associated counties; which they well understood, and therefore upon the first news of it the earl of Essex removed his head-quarters from Windsor to St. Alban's, and the train-bands of London and their auxiliary regiments marched again to him for his recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of orders from Oxford, sir Lewis Dyves drew off
Nov. his forces from Newport Pannell, and the enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful garrison. Upon which, prince Rupert fortified Tossiter, [Towcester] a town in Northamptonshire, and left a strong garrison there,

which, though it infested the enemy somewhat, and took great revenge upon those counties which had expressed a violent affection to the Parliament, in truth added little strength to the King; for he lost many horse by the labour of duty, the greatest part of the body of his horse being forced to quarter near that place, for the security of the foot, till the works about the town were in such a forwardness that they needed not fear their neighbours at St. Alban's. 1643

289. In the mean time the power of the Parliament was least manifest in the west, where their party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits. After the taking of Exciter, the gentlemen of that county having been generally well devoted to the King's service, though never able safely to declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing the violence of the other party, Prince Maurice found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by levies of money, men, and all offices that could be expected; insomuch as within very few days after the surrender of that town his army of foot, by the new levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand men, (which was a body the west had not before seen,) besides a body of horse at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent equipage for action. And at the same time colonel John Digby was before Plimmoth, with above three thousand foot and six hundred horse, and had taken a work from the enemy of great importance, called Mount-Stamford in honour of that earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the town, and which commanded some part of the river; the loss whereof gave the town a marvellous discouragement. Nov. 4.

290. The first error the prince committed after the reducing Exciter was staying so long there before he advanced, for victorious armies carry great terror with them whilst the memory and fame of the victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards Plimmoth when he did move; which in all probability would have yielded upon his approach, for the town was full of distraction and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an enemy. It was a rich and populous corporation, being in time of peace the

1643 greatest port for trade in the west, and, except Bristol, greater than all the rest. There was in it a castle very strong towards the sea, with good platforms and ordnance; and little more than musket-shot from the town was an island with a fort in it, much stronger than the castle; both which were before the troubles under the command of a captain, with a garrison of about fifty men at the most, and only intended for a security and defence of the town against a foreign invasion; the castle and the island together having a good command of the entrance into the harbour, but towards the land there was very little strength. This command was in the hands of sir Jacob Ashly, and as unprovided to expect or resist an enemy as the other castles and forts of the kingdom; there being only ordnance and ammunition, without any other provisions for the support of the soldiers within the walls, less for the receiving a recruit, and the garrison itself being, by time, marriage, and trade, incorporated into the town, and rather citizens than soldiers; so that, sir Jacob Ashly being sent for to the King before his setting up his standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a party for the King in Cornwall after the appearing of sir Ralph Hopton and those other gentlemen there, the mayor and corporation of Plimmoth quickly got both the castle and island into their own power.

291. It will be wondered at by many hereafter that those and the like places of strength in England, being under the command of persons entirely of his majesty's nomination, were not put into a good posture of defence when it grew first evident that there would be shortly occasion to use them; for according to the old story in Ælian[1], that when in one of the states of Greece Nicippus his sheep brought forth a lion, it was generally and justly concluded that that portended a tyranny, and change of the state from a peaceable to a bloody government, so when the two Houses of Parliament first produced a sovereign power to make and alter and suspend laws, before they raised an army or made a general or declared war, when that mild and innocent sheep, that legal regular convention of a sober and modest council, had once brought forth that lion

[1] [*Var. Hist.* I. 29.]

which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily and 1643
naturally concluded by all wise and sober men that the blessed calm, and temperate state of government, by which every man eat the fruit of his own vine, was at an end, and rapine, blood, and desolation, to succeed; and therefore that those holds should in reason have been then provided for.

292. But I shall say here once for all, that, from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a war, it was never in the King's power to mend the condition of either of those places; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the advantage which could have accrued if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times we have passed through if that be not apparent, and that it was rather an error of the former times that those places needed any supply than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

293. The Parliament was very glad Plimmoth was thus secured, and, as well to put an obligation upon all corporations, by shewing they thought them capable of the greatest trusts, as because they could not in truth more reasonably confide in any other, they committed the government thereof to that mayor, who was well enough instructed what respect to pay to their committee, which was appointed to reside there for his assistance and to conduct the affairs in those parts. Of that committee sir Alexander Carew was one, a gentleman of a good fortune in Cornwall, who served in Parliament as a knight for that county, and had from the beginning of the Parliament concurred in all conclusions with the most violent, with as full a testimony of that zeal and fury to which their confidence was applied as any man. To him the custody and government of that fort and island, which was looked upon as the security of the town, was committed, and a sufficient garrison put into it. The mayor commanded the castle and the town, about which a line was cast up of earth, weak and irregular.

294. After the battle of Stratton, and that the King's forces prevailed so far over the west that Bristol was taken by them

1643 and Exciter closely besieged, sir Alexander Carew began to think his island and fort would hardly secure his estate in Cornwall, and understood the law so well (for he had had a good education) to know, that the side he had chosen would be no longer the better than it should continue the stronger; and, having originally followed no other motives than of popularity and interests, resolved now to redeem his errors, and found means to correspond with some of his old friends and neighbours in Cornwall, and by them to make a direct overture to surrender that fort and island to the King, upon an assurance of his majesty's pardon and a full remission of his offences. Sir John Barkely, who then lay before Exciter, was the next supreme officer qualified to entertain such a treaty; and he instantly, by the same conveyance, returned him as ample assurance of his own conditions as could be, with advice that he should not upon any defect of forms, (which, upon his engagement, should be supplied with all possible expedition to his own satisfaction,) defer the consummating the work, which hereafter possibly might not be in his power to effect: designs of that nature being to be consulted and executed together, for in those cases, according to Mutianus in Tacitus [1], *qui deliberant, desciverunt*, and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly and dangerously wary of his own security, (having neither courage enough to obey his conscience, nor wickedness enough to be prosperous against it,) that he would not proceed till he was sufficiently assured that his pardon was passed the Great Seal of England; before which time (though all imaginable haste was made,) by the treachery of a servant whom he trusted, his treaty and design was discovered to the mayor and the rest of the committee, and, according to the diligence used in cases of such concernment, he was
Aug. 29. suddenly, and without resistance, surprised in his fort, and carried prisoner into Plimmoth, and from thence by sea sent to London; where what became of him will be remembered in its place.

295. Shortly after this accident colonel Digby came before the town; and though the great damage was by this means

[1] [*Hist.* lib. II. c. 78.]

prevented, yet it cannot be imagined but the people were in 1643
great distraction with the apprehension of the danger they had escaped; and those discoveries bring always that melanchol[y][1] with them, that men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no man had, to common understanding, better deserved to be trusted, or given less argument for suspicion: and upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides, he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the town, which must object them to some suspicion, or at least make them suspect that they were suspected; and, without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the judgment, that he would not suffer a man to recover the security and comfort of his allegiance who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own conscience, and that a man who had been before precipitate against all reason should perish by considering too much when precipitation was only reasonable.

296. The fame of the winning of Exciter, by which a victorious army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of Mount-Stamford, which was their only considerable fortification to the land, with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful consternation amongst them, and made them consider that if they could hold out and defend their town, the country being all lost, they must lose all their trade, and so from merchants become only soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for; insomuch as the mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a treaty, upon which the town might be delivered to the King. And it was by many then believed, that if prince Morrice had then marched from Exciter before it, that treaty would infallibly have ensued. But when I say it was an error that he did not, I intend it rather as a misfortune than a fault, for his highness was an utter stranger in those parts, and therefore was, not without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to Dartmoth; which was looked upon as an easy work, and a harbour which, being got, would draw a very good trade: and that short work being performed,

[1] ['melancholique,' MS.]

1643 Plimmoth would have the less courage to make resistance; and if it should, it were much fitter for the winter, which was now drawing on, (for it was more than the middle of September,) than the other, by reason of the conveniency of good accommodation for the soldier near about it, which could not be had about Dartmoth.

297. Upon these reasons he marched directly to Dartmoth, which, how unfit soever to make a defence against such an army, by the disadvantage of situation and the absence of all those helps which use to contract a confidence, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it. And shortly after, there came so violent a season of rain and foul weather, that very many of his men, with lying on the ground, fell sick and died, and more ran away. Yet, after near a month's siege, and the loss of many good men, (whereof the same colonel Chudleigh of whom we spake before was one, a gallant young gentleman, who received a shot with a musket in the body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the King's service,) it was given up on fair
Oct. 6. conditions; and then the prince, having placed a garrison there under the command of colonel Seymour, a gentleman of principal account and interest in Devonshire, lost no more time, but with all convenient expedition marched to Plimmoth; which was not now in the state it had been; for the Parliament, being quickly informed how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other parts of the west had made upon the spirits of that people, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred men, and a Scotch officer [1] to be governor; who eased the mayor of that unequal charge, and quickly made it evident that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the prince sat down before it with an army much inferior, (after he had joined with colonel Digby,) to that with which he had marched from Exciter to Dartmoth, yet with much confidence to reduce that town before the winter should be over.

298. Though the King's success and good fortune had met with a check in the relief of Gloster and the battle of Newbery, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole

[1] [Col. James Wardlaw, who arrived at Plymouth, Sept. 30.]

summer's service. For, whereas he seemed before confined, 1643
upon the matter, within Oxfordshire and half Barkshire, (which half too was lost upon the loss of Reading in the spring,) and the parties which appeared for him in other counties seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general union against him than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion, he was now, upon the matter, master of the whole west; Cornwall was his own without a rival; Plimmoth was the only place in all Devonshire unreduced, and those forces shut within their own walls: the large rich county of Somerset, with Bristol, the second county of the kingdom, entirely his: in Dorsetshire, the enemy had only two little fisher-towns, Pole and Lyme, all the rest was declared for the King. And in every of these counties he had plenty of harbours and ports, to supply him with ammunition and the country with trade. In Wiltshire the enemy had not the least footing; and rather a town or two in Hampshire than any possession of the county, that people being generally undevoted to them. The whole principality of Wales, (except a sea-town or two in Pembrokeshire,) was at his devotion; and that unfortunate obstinate town of Gloster only kept him from commanding the whole Severn. The parliament was nothing stronger in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the marquis of Newcastle had been forced to rise as unfortunately from Hull as the King had been from Gloster, yet he had still a full power over Yorkshire, and a greater in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make war; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that there was no peace. And therefore many believed that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the winter would produce some overtures of accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from Scotland was only to incline the King to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the people as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the King with a purpose of bringing in foreign forces to awe

1643 and impose upon his own subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stranger nation to invade their country, and to compel that people by whose affections they would be thought to be guided to submit to changes they had no mind to receive. And the arrival of the count of Harcourt, as extraordinary ambassador from the Crown of France, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some treaty, and to remove those ceremonies and preliminary propositions which, by reason of the mutual declarations and protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty than any real differences between them.

299. The King himself was not without expectation of notable effects from this embassy; for the state of France seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these
1642 troubles. Cardinal Richelieu, who the King well knew had
Dec. 4. more than fomented the troubles both in England and Scotland,
1643 was now dead, and the King of France himself likewise; and
May 14. those old ministers of state who had been long in the Bastile, or banished, were now set at liberty, or recalled, and in favour; the Queen mother made regent, who professed great personal kindness to the Queen of England, and so great a sense of the indignities the King and she suffered that she seemed sensible that France had contributed too much to them, and to think that the interest as well as honour of that Crown was concerned to buoy[1] up the monarchy of England; with intimations that the King himself should direct what way he would be served by that Crown. The first evidence they gave of meaning as
1642 they said was the revocation of monsieur Le Ferté Senneterre,
Sept. the ambassador then resident in England; who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously persuaded some English priests and Jesuits to engage those of the Romish persuasion by no means to assist the King, with a full assurance that the Parliament would allow them liberty of conscience. This minister his majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly

[1] ['bw'y,' MS.]

done, but a private intimation likewise [given] to the Queen 1643
that she should nominate what person should be employed in his place, who should wholly guide himself by her instructions. And her majesty was led to make choice of monsieur le count of Harcourt, one of the principal persons of that kingdom, being a prince of the house of Lorraine, and so allied to the King, and *grand escuyer* of France; and had been their late fortunate general in Catalonia, where he had given the Spaniard the greatest defeat they had received[1]; which was not thought an unseasonable qualification in an ambassador whose business was to mediate a peace.

300. His reception at London was with much solemnity, Oct. 7.
that he might not find there was any absence of ceremony or state by the absence of the King; yet when he had a safe conduct for Oxford, his carriages were stopped at the going Oct. 16.
out of London, and his own coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried letters; and though he expostulated the affront, as a high violation of his honour and privilege[2], he received no manner of reparation, or the officer that did it any reprehension; which[3] made many believe that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The King expected that by this ambassador the Crown of France would have made a brisk declaration on his majesty's behalf, and if the Parliament should not return to their regular obedience that they should have found no correspondence or reception in that kingdom, and that they would really assist his majesty in such manner as he should propose; which declaration he thought would prove of moment with the city of London, in respect of their trade, but more with the Scots, who were understood to have an especial dependence upon France.

[1] [In Piedmont, Apr. 29, 1640.]

[2] [The affront for which he complained was not his own stoppage, so far as appears from the Journals of Parliament, but that of a messenger sent by him from Oxford to France, about which his remonstrance was read on Nov. 11. An order that his couriers should not be searched, but if suspected should be brought before the Parliament, was made on Nov. 22.]

[3] ['shewed that all government was not in the hands of a few, and': struck out in the MS.]

1643 Nov. 11. 301. When the ambassador returned from his audience at Oxford, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the earl of Northumberland, by which he desired his lordship to impart to the messieurs of Parliament that he had made known to their majesties the affectionate desire the King his master and the Queen his mistress had to contribute all good offices in the procurement of peace and tranquillity in this kingdom, to which he found the desires of their majesties well disposed; and therefore he desired to know if his lordship thought the two Houses did correspond in the same intention: if they did, after they should make him understand the subject that had obliged them to take up arms, he would interpose to pacify the differences, by such expedients as should be most conformable to the ancient laws and customs of the realm.

302. After the earl of Northumberland had informed the House of Peers of this representation, it was at a conference imparted to the House of Commons, and an answer was framed Nov. 22. by joint agreement, to be returned by the earl of Northumberland to the ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the title of *prince of Harcourt*, and *grand escuyer of France*, but omitted that of *extraordinary ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the Parliament, by letters of credence, or the sight of his instructions from the King or Queen regent of France, that he was by them employed extraordinary ambassador into England.

303. The answer itself was, That the Lords and Commons in Parliament did with all due respects accept of the affectionate desires of the King and Queen regent of France to contribute good offices towards the procuring a happy peace; and that when the said monsieur le prince d'Harcourt should make any such propositions to the Parliament by authority from their majesties of France, they would give then such an answer to the same as might stand with the interest of both kingdoms and their late solemn League and Covenant. The Lords proposed that there might be a committee appointed to treat with the ambassador, but the Commons would by no means consent to it till he should make it manifest that he had authority from his

master to treat with the Parliament; and withal they declared 1643
that if he had at any time any thing farther to offer to them, they Dec. 4, 11.
would not receive it from any particular member of either House, but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the Speaker of either or both Houses of Parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence with him. The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the privity and approbation of the King) an address, and acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, against the freedom whereof, and consequently the present being, his majesty had by his late proclamation declared. So the ambassador, after a journey or two to Oxford and some perfunctory addresses to the Houses, returned to France *re infecta*, and without the least expression Feb.
of dislike on his master's behalf of their proceedings.

304. They who were scrupulous in believing that France really intended to repair the mischieve it had done, and observed that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of ceremony, with particular persons after the death of the former cardinal, yet that the main counsels were carried on upon the rules and directions he had left, and that the cardinal Mazaryn, a person of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those counsels; and considered how much France might imagine it would conduce to their interest that the King of England should not have all his subjects in their perfect obedience, lest he might offer to be an arbiter of their great differences: I say, these men believed comte Harcourt's instructions privately were no other than the last ambassador's, whom the King had caused to be recalled; and it cannot be denied that they who were inclined to that jealousy had arguments enough to increase it.

305. When this extraordinary ambassador was appointed to come for England, Mr. Mountague was in the Court of France, very much trusted by both their majesties; and by his quality, and near relation to so great a trust, his long conversation in that Court, and a singular dexterity in his nature, adorned with excellent parts, was thought to have a very good place in

1643 the favour and particular estimation of that Queen regent, and in the opinion of the cardinal, to whom he had been useful. With this gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted which were preparatory to the ambassador's journey; and it was thought fit that he should at the same time come into England, and, in such a disguise as might easily conceal a man better known in France than in his own country, in the ambassador's train find a safe passage to Oxford; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his retinue. The count of Harcourt was not landed four and twenty hours, but in his journey towards London a messenger from the Parliament apprehended Mr. Mountague, and carried him a prisoner to the Houses, by whom he was committed to the Tower; and though
Oct. 7, 18. the ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his enlargement; which made men believe the cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not that he should be either at Oxford or at Paris.

306. At the ambassador's first coming to Oxford, after
Oct. 18[1]. general overtures, and declarations of the resolution of that Crown to give his majesty all possible assistance for his re-establishment, he proposed a league offensive and defensive with the King. His majesty, that knew well such an offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a committee of his Council (according to the usual course) to treat with the ambassador upon all necessary articles which should attend such a treaty, declaring an inclination to enter into such a league as was proposed; and thereupon desired a present loan of money, and a supply of a good proportion of arms and ammunition; and likewise, that the Crown of France would declare against his subjects of England and Scotland who would persist in rebellion; according to an article ratified in the last treaty of the league now in force.

307. The ambassador, who, it seems, expected that there

[1] [The day of his arrival at Oxford. He had his audience on Friday, Oct. 20 (Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 55), or Saturday, Oct. 21 (*Merc. Aul.*, p. 596).]

should have been more pauses in the overture of the league offensive and defensive, for the present declined the treating with the committee; alleging that he was, upon the matter, a minister of both their majesties, and was to receive commands from them, and wholly to attend their service, and therefore that he desired wholly to communicate with their majesties themselves: and shortly after waived any farther mention of the league, with a French compliment, that it would not appear a generous thing to press the King to any act in this his distress which he had made scruple of consenting to heretofore, when the fortune of both Crowns [was[1]] equally prosperous: but that his master and mistress would frankly contribute all that could reasonably be expected from them towards his majesty's restoration and establishment, and afterwards expect such a return of affection from his majesty as the greatness of the obligation should merit in his princely estimation. And at the same time the Queen regent and cardinal positively denied to the lord Goring, ambassador extraordinary then from his majesty in France, that ever the count of Harcourt had any instruction to mention a league offensive and defensive. These particular carriages, and his not resenting the indignities offered to him by the Parliament, made many men believe that this ambassador (notwithstanding all the specious professions) was sent rather to foment than extinguish the fire that was kindled. Certain it is, during his stay in England he did not in the least degree advance the King's service, and at his return left the Parliament more united amongst themselves against the King, and the Scots more advanced towards their coming in, than he found them; there being at the same time likewise a French agent in Scotland[2], who produced no alteration in the affections of that people to the King's advantage. 1643

308. The return of the three earls to London in the winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the King in the spring, contributed exceedingly to the union of the two Houses at Westminster. The other two stayed longer, and retired with

[1] ['were,' MS.]

[2] [P. de Boysivon, accredited 24 Sept. *Lords' Journals*, VI. 322.]

1643 much more decency, if not with a tacit permission; but the earl of Holland [1], when he saw his place in the bedchamber conferred upon the marquis of Hartford, in much discontent found [2] an opportunity, (which was not difficult,) to remove out of the King's quarters; and before he was missed at Oxford, Nov. 6. intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the Parliament at London. And to make his return the more conscientious, he declared that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his majesty to a treaty of peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the Oxford counsels, and that the King had still about him some counsellors who would never consent to a safe and well-grounded peace; and that he heard they had persuaded the King to make a cessation with the rebels in Ireland, which affected his conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his life by it, he would return to the Parliament, professing exemplary fidelity to them if they would again receive him into their favour.

309. It may be his discourse of Ireland or the King's averseness to peace wrought upon very few; but the evidence of the King's aversion so far to forgive and forget former trespasses as to receive them into favour and trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true that many

[1] [The lines 'The return—Holland' are substituted in the margin of the MS. for the following lines, which are struck out :—

'I must not here forget one accident, which no doubt (how much soever neglected then) contributed exceedingly to the union at London; the return of the earl of Holland to the Parliament. After his first coming to Oxford, when he had kissed the King and Queen's hands, he and the other two lords who came together, the earl of Bedford and the earl of Clare, attended the King in the army, and at the battle of Newbery charged with Prince Rupert in his troop. When the King retired to Oxford, the earl of Holland applied himself to both their majesties, and had a fair reception and admission to speak with the King in private when he desired. Whether he had received any private invitation, and promise of being restored to the place he formerly had in their majesties' favours and his old condition in Court, I know not; but after a short stay in and about Oxford, and when he found the eyes of the Court moved not towards him as they had done, though the Queen was gracious to him, and the King always content to hear what he would say—'.]

[2] ['he found,' MS.]

of the principal and governing members of both Houses, that 1643
is, of them who had governed and done as much mischieve as any, either out of apprehension that the King would prevail, or that they should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their government and followed new leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of conscience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the King, and looked only upon the footing which those doves who went first out of the ark should find. And surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the Parliament into such contempt that it must have fallen of itself: and it is a way that in no civil war, which is arrived to any vigour and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a body that is not formed by policy, with any avowed and fixed principles of government, but by the distempered affections, ambition, and discontent of particular persons, who rather agree against a common adversary than are united to one just interest, cannot so easily be dissolved as by tampering with particular persons, and rending those branches from the trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

310. And the reasons were unanswerable which the old consul Fabius in Livy, (lib. 24[1],) gave in the case of Cassius Altinius, who, after the defeat of Cannæ, deserted the Romans, and fled to Hannibal, by which he got the city of Arpos; and when the condition of the Romans was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the Roman army, and offered to betray that city into their hands. Many were of opinion that he should be looked upon as a common enemy; and bound, and sent to Hannibal, as a perfidious person, who knew neither how to be a friend or an enemy. Fabius reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered and judged *in medio ardore belli tanquam in pace libera*, and told them that their principal care must be, that none of their friends and allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them

[1] [c. 45.]

1643 might return again into their obedience and protection: for, *si abire a Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be but the state of Rome, from whom in the late misfortunes many had revolted, must become very desperate.

311. Such was the King's condition; the number of the guilty being so much superior to the innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great by practising it as his future advantage was like to prove by it. And whatever damage his majesty sustained, that unfortunate earl received no acknowledgment or encouragement from the other party who had a benefit by his return; but as his estate was sequestered as soon as he left
Nov. 6. them, so he was now committed to prison, and that sequestra-
1644 tion continued; neither was it in a long time after taken off,
July 17. nor himself ever admitted to his place in their council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

312. And verily there may be thought to be some dislike in the very primary law of nature of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any story, a deserter of a trust or party he once adhered to, to be prosperous, or in any eminent estimation with those to whom he resorts, though in the change there may appear evident arguments of reason and justice; neither hath it been in the power or prerogative of any authority to preserve such men from the reproach and jealousy and scandal that naturally attend upon any defection. *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me unto this day; nevertheless, the lords favour thee not*, 1 Sam. xxix., was the profession of king Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those lords, *Wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* will be always an argumentation to raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their party. And

the judgment of Fabius himself, which we touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favour; for though he reprehended the proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with liberty to do any thing but go away, till the war was ended, and *tum consultandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pœnæ an hic reditus veniæ.* And as it fares in civil affairs, and the breach of moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defections and alterations in religion. For, as among the Jews the proselytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches, yet it was provided that no proselyte should be eligible into the court of their Sanhedrim, and in their very conversation they had a caution of them, (*Vel ad decimam usque generationem a proselytis cave*, was an aphorism against them)[1], so our observation and experience can give us few examples of men who have changed their religion, and not fallen into some jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those [with] whom they side, that have made their future life less pleasant and delightsome; which, it may be, is only because we have rare instances of men of extraordinary parts, or great minds, who have entertained those conversions. 1643

313[2]. The Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the King's. New and stricter orders were made for the general taking the Covenant, and an ordinance that no man should be in any office or trust in their armies or kingdom, or of the Common Council of London, or should have a voice in the election of those officers, but such 1644 Feb. 3.

[1] [The injunction is, not to speak against a heathen before a proselyte to the tenth generation. *Talmud Babylon.*, Sanhedrim, fol. 94 *a*.]

[2] [The following lines are struck out in the MS. at the beginning of this section:—

'The earl of Northumberland was now returned to London from his house at Petworth in Sussex, (where he had resided from the time the other lords left the House till after the battle of Newbery, in expectation of overtures from Oxford,) and incorporated again into their counsels; and they who had before been very solicitous for peace laid aside all thoughts towards it.']

1643 who had taken the Covenant; nor even they who had taken the Covenant if they had been formerly imprisoned or sequestered for suspicion of malignancy, or adhering to the King. And that they might as well provide for their sovereign jurisdiction in civil matters as their security in martial, they again resumed the consideration of the Great Seal of England. The Commons had often pressed the House of Peers to concur with them in the making a new Great Seal, as the proper remedy against those mischieves which, by the absence of it, had befallen the commonwealth; declaring that the Great Seal of England of right ought to attend upon the Parliament; in which the Peers as often refused to join with them, being startled at the statute of the 25th year of King Edward III, by which the counterfeiting the Great Seal of England is in express terms declared to be high treason; and it had been in all times before understood to be the seal properly of the King and not of the kingdom, and absolutely in the King's own disposal where it should be kept, or where it should attend.

314. This dissent of the Lords hindered not the business;
July 5. the Commons frankly voted that a Seal should be provided, and
July 11, 19. accordingly took order that one was engraven, and brought into their House, according to the same, size, effigies, [*sic*] and nothing differing from that which the King used at Oxford. Being in this readiness, and observing the Lords to be less scrupulous
Oct. 30. than they had been, about the middle of November they sent again to them, to let them know they had a Great Seal ready, which should be put into the custody of such persons as the two Houses should appoint; and if they would name some peers, a proportionable number of the other body should join in the executing that trust. All objections were now answered, and
Nov. 10. without any hesitation their lordships not only concurred with them to have a Seal in their own disposal, but in a declaration and ordinance, by which they declared all letters patents and grants made by the King, and passed the Great Seal of England, after the two-and-twentieth day of May in the year 1642, (which was the day the Lord Keeper left the House, and went with the Great Seal to York to the King,) to be invalid, and void in law;

and henceforward that their own Great Seal should be of the like force, power, and validity, to all intents and purposes, as any Great Seal of England had been or ought to be; and that whosoever, after the publication of that ordinance, should pass any thing under any other Great Seal, or should claim any thing thereby, should be held and adjudged a public enemy to the State. 1643

315. At the same time, the earls of Rutland and Bullingbrooke, of the Peers, Mr. St. John, (whom they still entitled the King's Solicitor General, though his majesty had revoked his patent, and conferred that office upon sir Thomas Gardyner, who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his recorder's place of London for having so done,) sergeant Wilde, (who, being a sergeant-at-law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a Seal,) Mr. Browne and Mr. Prideaux, (two private practisers of the law,) were nominated to have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the like, power and authority as any Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, or commissioner of the Great Seal for the time being, had had, used, or ought to have. The earl of Rutland was so modest as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a trust, and therefore excused himself in point of conscience[1]: whereupon they nominated in his room the earl of Kent, (a man of far meaner parts,) who readily accepted the place. Nov. 28.

316. The Seal then was delivered in the House of Commons to their Speaker; and by him, with much solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the bar in that House. The six commissioners were then, in the presence of both Houses, solemnly sworn to execute the office of Keepers of the Great Seal of England in all things, according to the orders and directions of both Houses of Parliament. And thereupon the Seal was delivered by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, (according to order,) to the house of the clerk of the Parliament in the old palace, where it was kept locked up in a chest, which could not be opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several keys. This work being over, Nov. 30.

[1] ['in regard of his ill health'; *Lords' Journals*, VI. 315.]

1643 they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of sovereignty,
Dec. 6. a patent to be sealed to the earl of Warwick of Lord High Admiral of England, which was done accordingly; by which many concluded that the earl of Northumberland, who had been put out of that great office for their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear their livery.

317. About the same time, to shew that they would be absolute, and not joint-sharers in the sovereign power, they gave an instance of boldness mingled with cruelty that made them appear very terrible. The King had published several proclamations for the adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, which had been hitherto fruitless, for want of the necessary legal form of having the writs read in court; so that the judges who were ready to perform their duty could not regularly keep the courts at Oxford, which else they would do,
April 18. notwithstanding the order and declarations published by the two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the law believing that assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These writs of adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably to be read in court, or into the hands of either of the sworn judges who yet attended at Westminster; of which there were three in number, justice Bacon in the King's Bench, justice Reeve in the Common Pleas, and baron Trevour in the Exchequer; who, (how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the Parliament,) knowing the law and their duties, men believed would not have barefaced declined the execution of those commands they were sworn to observe. Several messengers were therefore sent from Oxford with those writs; and appointed, on or before such a day, (for that circumstance was penal,) to find an opportunity to deliver the writs into the hands of the several judges. Two of them performed their charges, and delivered the writs to justice Reeve and baron Trevour; who immediately caused the messengers to be apprehended.

Oct. 13, Nov. 22. 318. And the Houses, being informed of it, gave direction, that they should be tried by a council of war, as spies; which

was done at Essex House. The messengers alleged that they were 1643
sworn servants to his majesty for the transaction of those services for which they were now accused, and that they had been legally punishable if they had refused to do their duties; the term being to be adjourned by no other way. Notwithstanding all which, they were both condemned to be hanged as spies; and that such a sentence might not be thought to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor men were within few days after carried to the Old Exchange, where a gallows was purposely set up; and there one of them, one Daniel Knyveton, was without any mercy executed; dying with another kind of courage than could be Nov. 27.
expected from a man of such a condition and education, did not the conscience of being innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in any condition. The other, after he had stood some time upon or under the gallows, looking for the same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to Bridewell; where he was kept long after, till he made an escape, and returned again to Oxford. This example begot great terror in all the well affected about London, and so much the more, because about the same time an Oct. 18.
ordinance was made that whosoever went to Oxford, or into any of the King's quarters, without leave from one of the Houses or a pass from their general, or whosoever held any correspondence with any person in the King's quarters by writing letters or receiving letters from thence, should be proceeded against as a person disaffected to the State, and his person committed and his estate sequestered, and should be liable, according to the circumstances, (of which themselves would be only judges,) to be tried as spies.

319. As this made them exceeding terrible to those who loved them not, so about the same time they gave another instance of severity, which rendered their government no less reverend amongst their friends and associates. The brave defence of Gloster, and the great success that attended it, made the loss of Bristol the more felt, and, consequently, the delivery and yielding it up the more liberally spoken of and censured. The which colonel Fynes having not patience to bear, he desired, being a member of the House of Commons, and of a swaying

1643 interest there, that he might be put to give an account of it at
Sept. 23. a court of war, which was the proper judicature upon trespasses of that nature; and, in the mean time, was powerful enough, upon some collateral and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the chief who inveighed against him to be imprisoned and reprehended [1]. This begat greater passion and animosity in the persons that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the authority and interest of the colonel and his father; and, by degrees, brought faction into the House of Commons and the army, according to the several affections and tempers of men.

Nov. 15. 320. There were but two prosecutors appeared, one Mr. Walker, a gentleman of Somersetshire, of a good fortune, and by the loss of that the more provoked, who had been in the town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done or said; and the famous Mr. Prinn, who had at first let himself into the disquisition out of the activity and restlessness of his nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of zeal to the kingdom, and that such an irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the colonel with cowardice and treachery, and gave several instances of great and high professions, and performances faint and not answerable, with some mixtures of pride and love of money, throughout the course of his government. Colonel Fynes, besides the credit and reputation of his father, had a very good stock of estimation in the House of Commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of learning and nature, and was privy to, and a great manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with command in the army, to which men thought his nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none after Mr. Hambden's death in those councils. This made him too much despise those who appeared his adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not, (for he looked upon sir

[1] [Clement Walker was sentenced by the House of Lords, on Oct. 2, to be fined and imprisoned for a libel on Lord Say and Sele.]

William Waller as an enemy, [who, his [1]] misfortune at Round- 1643
way Down having brought that storm upon Bristol, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of courage and conduct,) and being sure that he was very free from wishing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him than might well be answered by the having done his best, and that the eminency of his perfect zeal against his majesty would weigh down all objections of disservice to the Parliament.

321. But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn hearing before the court of war at St. Alban's, where the earl of Essex then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned Dec. 28.
to lose his head, for not having defended Bristol so well and so long as he ought to have done. And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the prerogative of the general, under his hand and seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off, by which he became unfit to continue an officer of the army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the kingdom; so that he went for some time into foreign parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the government of the Church and State, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this example as a foundation of great awe and reverence in the army, that the officers might see that no titles or relation should be able to break through the strict discipline of war. For this gentleman was a person of singular merit and fidelity to the party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a person, (who knew all their intrigues,) upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it as a judgment of Heaven upon a man who had been so forward in promoting the public calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the factions and animosities both in the Parliament and the army, and might have done them farther mischieve, if it had not fallen on a man so throughly engaged

[1] ['whose,' MS.]

1643 that no provocations could make him less of their party or less concerned in their confederacy.

322[1]. Nothing troubled the King so much as the intelligence he received from Scotland that they had already formed their army, and resolved to enter England in the winter season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the faith and most solemn professions of particular men without whom the nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a man; and he found the same men most engaged against him who had with most solemnity vowed all obedience to him. And the circumstance of the time made the danger of the invasion the more formidable; for the earl of Newcastle, (who
Oct. 27. was lately created a marquis,) his army had been compelled, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the officers as by the
Oct. 12. season of the year, to quit his design upon Hull and to retire to York; and the garrison at Hull had many strong infalls into the country, and defeated some of his troops[2]; so that the Scots were like to find a strong party in that large county. However, the marquis sent a good body of horse towards the borders to wait their motion, and no sooner heard of their
Jan. 19. march, which began in January, in a great frost and snow, than himself marched into the bishopric of Durham to attend them. The particulars of all that affair, and the whole transaction of the northern parts, where the writer of this history was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper person will employ himself in[3].

323. In these straits, the King considered two expedients which were proposed to him, and which his majesty directed should be both consulted[4] in the Council. The one was, that all the peers who were then in Oxford, or in the King's service,

[1] [§§ 322–328 are from the *Life*, pp. 252–4.]

[2] [At Winceby, near Horncastle, Oct. 11.]

[3] [The lines 'where the writer—himself in' are substituted in the MS. for the following: 'where the Chancellor of the Exchequer was never present, nor had any part in those counsels, are fit for another kind of account, and are foreign to this discourse.']

[4] ['the King—consulted': originally thus, 'the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed two expedients to the King, which the King liked well, and wished they might both be consulted.']

might subscribe a letter to the Council of State in Scotland; 1643
whereby it would appear by the subscription that above five parts of six of the whole nobility and House of Peers were in the King's service, and disavowed all those actions which were done against him by the pretended authority of the two Houses; which possibly might make some impression upon the nation of Scotland, though it was well enough known to the seducers. A letter was prepared accordingly[1], expressing the foulness of the rebellion in England under the reputation of the Houses of Parliament, and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away by force much the major part of the members of both, and expressly against all the laws of the land: it put them in mind of their obligation to the King, and pathetically concluded with conjuring them to desist from their unjust and unwarrantable purpose, since they could have no excuse for prosecuting the same from the authority of Parliament[2]. The letter was perused and debated in the Council, and afterwards in the presence of all the peers; and being generally approved without any dissenting voice, it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those peers and privy-councillors who were then in Oxford, and to be sent to those who were absent in any of the armies or in the King's quarters, and to be then sent to the marquis of Newcastle; who, after he had signed it with those peers who were in those parts, was[3] to transmit it into Scotland by a trumpet; all which was done accordingly.

324. Of all the peers who followed the King, there was only one who refused to sign this letter[4], the earl of Leicester.

[1] [These words are substituted for the following: 'The Chancellor was appointed to prepare the letter, which he did.' See note to § 369, pp. 286–7.]

[2] [The words 'since—Parliament' are substituted for the following: 'in such a manner and in those words as are contained in the letter that was then printed and remains in many hands.']

[3] ['he was,' MS.]

[4] [The following passage is here struck out in the MS. :—

'The earl of Leicester was in Oxford, and had been once in Council when the letter was consulted; and when the clerk of the Council carried it (according to his office) to him to be signed, he wished him to leave it there for his perusal, and he would consider of it; and the next day calling to him again, he gave the same answer, that he would farther consider of it. Whereupon it was whispered in the Court that he would not put his hand to it,

1643 Both their majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed, upon the remove of the marquis of Hartford from the government of the Prince to attend his majesty, that the earl of Leicester should have been governor of the Prince, having taken away that of Ireland from him, if he had not at that time wilfully refused to sign [this[1]] letter to the Scots which all the other lords of the Council and peers had signed; but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature and mind liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not prosecute his purpose; and so the government of that hopeful and excellent prince was

which they who loved him not (which were very many of the lords) were glad of, and the more because the King had it in his purpose to give him some preferment in lieu of the Lieutenantship of Ireland, which he thought fit at that time to take from him, and had conferred it upon the marquis of Nov. 13. Ormonde, who had the command of the army in that kingdom. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had much kindness for the earl of Leicester, and went to him, and took notice of what was reported about the Court, and desired him not to give those who had an evil eye towards him so great an advantage to do him hurt as his refusal to sign this letter, and so declaring himself to be of a different judgment, if not different affection, from all the councillors and all the peers who followed the King, would do; that he had some reason to believe that both the King and the Queen had at present some gracious intentions towards him, which he would make himself incapable of by such an unseasonable contradiction. The reasons he gave why he had forborne to sign it (for he had not yet refused) were not equal to his own reason, which, when uncorrupted by his passion, was very good: that he had been only once present when the design of that letter was consulted, but had not been present when the letter itself was brought to the Board, (which he might and ought to have been,) nor had ever seen it till it was brought to him to be signed; that there were some matters of fact mentioned in it, which, though he believed, he did not know to be true; and some such other exceptions as were too weak to puzzle his understanding; so that the Chancellor did believe what he wished, that he would have signed it; but, after many pauses and delays, whether he had not yet digested his late deposal from the lieutenancy of Ireland, to which the marquis of Ormonde was deputed, and thought the disobligation of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he thought the King's fortune desperate, and resolved not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not concurring with them; or whether he had it then in his purpose to be found in their quarters, as shortly after he was; he did in the end positively refuse to subscribe the letter; and thereby was the occasion of a mischieve he did not intend. [For] both their majesties, in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed the marquis of Hartford in the government of the Prince; for which he would have been very proper.']

[1] ['a,' MS.]

committed to the earl of Barkshire, for no other reason but 1643
because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a man, of any who bore the name of a gentleman, the most unfit for that province, or any other that required any proportion of wisdom and understanding for the discharge of it.

325. But it was the unhappy temper of the Court at that time to think that it was no matter who was employed in that office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceived, nor was the earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a councillor much trusted[1] speaking at that time with the lord Jermin, 'how astonishing a thing it was to all the nation to see the Prince committed to such a governor,' he smiled, according to his custom when he could not answer, and said, 'it was of no moment who had the name and style of governor, since the King and Queen meant to be his governor, and firmly resolved that he should never be out of their presence or of one of them:' when within little more than a year after the King found it necessary to sever the Prince from him, and lived not to see him again: and he then found and lamented that he had deputed such a governor over him.

326. The other expedient proposed[2] was, that since the whole kingdom was misled by the reverence they had to Parliaments, and believed that the laws and liberties of the people could not be otherwise preserved than by their authority, and that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade them that what they did was against law when they were persuaded that their very doing it made it lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and could be only effectual, to convince them that they who did those monstrous things were not the Parliament but a handful of desperate persons, who, by the help of the tumults raised in the city of London, had driven away the

[1] [The words 'a councillor much trusted' are substituted for 'the Chancellor.']

[2] [The words 'by the Chancellor' are here struck out in the MS.]

1643 major part of the Parliament, and called themselves the Parliament, who were in truth much the less and the least considerable part of it; which would appear manifestly, if the King would issue out a proclamation to require all the members who had left the Parliament at Westminster to repair to Oxford by such a day, where his majesty would be willing to advise with them in matters of the greatest importance, concerning the peace and distractions of the kingdom: and by this means he might in many things serve himself by their assistance, and it would evidently appear by the number of both Houses, whose names would be quickly known and published, how few remained at Westminster who carried on the devouring war, so grievous to the whole kingdom.

327. The King was at first in some apprehension that such a conflux of persons together of the Parliament, who would look to enjoy the privileges of it in their debates, might, instead of doing him service, do many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended that they would immediately enter upon some treaty of peace which would have no effect, yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparations for the war; and though nobody more desired peace, yet he had no mind that a multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it, imagining that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up persons, and other particulars of honour, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a war in the kingdom; which would have been true, if, (as hath been said before,) the governors of the Parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a peace to trust any to make politic propositions, which upon refusal might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

328. The Council seemed much inclined to the expedient, and many conveniences were in view; and it might be reasonably hoped and presumed, that persons who had that duty to obey his majesty's summons in coming thither, which would be none but such who had already absented themselves from Westminster, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would [not] bring ill and troublesome humours with them, to disturb

that service which could only preserve them, but, on the contrary, would unite, and conspire together to make the King superior to his and their enemies. And as to the advancing any propositions of peace, which there could be no doubt but they would be inclined to, nor would it be fit for his majesty to oppose, there could be no inconvenience; since their appearing in it would but draw reproach from those at Westminster, who would never give them any answer, or look upon them under any notion but as private persons and deserters of the Parliament, without any qualification to treat or be treated with: which would more provoke those at Oxford, and, by degrees, stir up more animosities between them. And the King discovered more of hope than fear from such a convention; and so, with a very unanimous consent and approbation, a proclamation was issued out[1], containing the true grounds and motives, and mentioning the league with Scotland to invade the kingdom, which was the most universally odious and detestable, and summoned all the members of both Houses of Parliament, except only such who, having command in his majesty's armies in the North and in the West, could not be dispensed with to be absent from their charges, to attend upon his majesty in Oxford, upon a day fixed in January next. 1643 Dec. 24. Jan. 22.

329[2]. The King was not all this while without a due sense of the dangers that threatened him in the growth and improvement of the power and strength of the enemy, and how impossible it would be for him without some more extraordinary assistance to resist that torrent which he foresaw by the next spring would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not provision accordingly. When he saw therefore that it was not in his power to compose the distractions of England, or to prevent those in Scotland, and abhorring the thought of introducing a foreign nation to subdue his own subjects, he began to think of any expedients which might allay the distempers in Ireland; that so, having one of his kingdoms in peace, he might apply the power of that towards the procuring

[1] ['prepared by the Chancellor'; struck out in the MS.]

[2] [§§ 329–393 (excepting § 369) are from the *Hist.*, pp. 497–525.]

1643 it in his other dominions. He was not ignorant how tender an argument that business of Ireland was, and how prepared men were to pervert whatsoever he said or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that caution, that whatsoever was done in it should be by the Council of that State, who were understood to be most skilful in those affairs.

1642 July and Oct. 330. The Lords Justices and Council had sent a short petition to his majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his Catholic subjects then in arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of duty and submission to his majesty, that he would appoint some persons to hear what they could say for themselves, and to present the same to his 1643 majesty. Hereupon the King authorized by his commission Jan. 11. the lord marquis of Ormonde and some others to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this commission, the marquis, finding that the petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that notion, that he even then advanced against them with his army, and gave them a very signal defeat[1]; which reformed their application, and made it more submiss.

331. In the mean time (though in all actions and counsels the Lords Justices and Council there had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parliament) the affairs of that kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of provisions, money, and ammunition, out of England; which the two Houses of Parliament were obliged, and were to that purpose enabled by his majesty, to send. Insomuch as that Board, by April 4. their letters of the fourth of April this present year, advertised the Speaker of the House of Commons, that

'they had been compelled, for the preservation of the army, to take money from all who had it, and to wrest their commodities from the poor merchants, whom they had now, by the law of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled from being hereafter helpful to them in bringing them in victuals, or other needful commodities: and that there were few of themselves, or others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of their

[1] [At Ross, March 18, 1643.]

proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to them to do than it was heavy to others to suffer, and by their descending, (against their hearts,) far below the honour and dignity of that power they represented under his royal majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulty, prevailed so as to be able to find bread for the soldiers for the space of one month: that they were then expelling thence all strangers, and must instantly send away for England thousands of poor despoiled English, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place; and therefore,' they said, 'they did again earnestly and finally desire (for their confusions would not now admit the writing of many more letters, if any) some supplies of victual and munition might, in present, be hastened thither, to keep life until the rest might follow, there being no victuals in store, nor one hundred barrels of powder; which, according to the usual necessary expenses, besides extraordinary accidents, would not last above a month.' 1643

332. A copy of this letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, that his majesty might be informed of the sadness of their condition, and, with it, a copy of a paper that morning presented to the Board (which was likewise sent in their letter to the Speaker) from the officers of the army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained and expostulations thereupon, concluded, that if their lordships would take them into their timely consideration, before their urgent wants made them desperate, they would serve them readily and faithfully; but if their lordships would not find a way for their preservations there, they humbly desired they might have leave to go where they might have a better being; and if they refused to grant that, they must then take leave to have their recourse to that first and primary law which God had endued all men with, the law of nature, which taught all men to preserve themselves. April 4.

333. The King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this advertisement, apprehending the state of his Protestant subjects in that kingdom to be almost desperate, the rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from foreign parts, and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own sovereign power, hoping[1] this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression in the two Houses of Parliament, that they would have sent such a full supply that at least the rebels might make no farther

[1] ['and hoping,' MS.]

1643 progress in victory against his Protestant subjects. About the end of May, the Lords Justices and Council, (having received
May 11. no probable hope of assistance from the Parliament,) sent an address immediately to his majesty, that himself might conclude in that exigent what was to be done for preservation of one of his three kingdoms. This letter, subscribed by the Lords Justices and every member of the Council-board, being the ground and foundation of the resolutions which his majesty afterwards took, I think necessary in this place to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

334. 'May it please your most excellent majesty:

'As soon as we your majesty's Justices entered into the charge of this government, we took into our consideration at this Board the state of the army here; which we find suffering under unspeakable extremities of want of all things necessary to the support of their persons or maintenance of the war, here being no victuals, clothes, or other provisions requisite towards their sustenance; no money to provide them of any thing they want; no arms in your majesty's stores to supply their many defective arms; not above forty barrels of powder in your stores; no strength of serviceable horses being now left here, and those few that are, their arms for the most part lost, or unserviceable; no ships arrived here to guard the coast, and consequently no security rendered to any that might, (on their private adventures,) bring in provisions of victuals, or other necessaries, towards our subsistence; and, finally, no visible means, by sea or land, of being able to preserve for you this your kingdom, and to render deliverance from utter destruction to the remnant of your good subjects left here.

335. 'We find that your majesty's late Justices and this Board have often and fully, by very many letters, advertised the Parliament in England of the extremities of affairs here, and besought relief with all possible importunity; which also have been fully represented to your majesty, and to the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, to be made known to your majesty: and although the winds have of late for many days, (and often formerly,) stood very fair for accessions of supply forth of England hither, and that we have still, with longing expectations, hoped to find provisions arrive here in some degree answerable to the necessities of your affairs, yet now, (to our unexpressible grief,) after full six months waiting, and much longer patience and longsuffering, we find all our great expectations answered in a mean and inconsiderable quantity of provisions, viz. threescore and fifteen barrels of butter, and fourteen ton of cheese; being but the fourth part of a small vessel's loading, which was sent from London, and arrived here the fifth day of this month, which is not above seven or eight days' provision for that part of the army which lies in Dublin and the out-garrisons thereof; no money or victuals (other than that inconsiderable proportion of victual) having arrived in this place, as sent from the Parliament of England, or any other forth of England, for the use of the army, since the beginning of November last.

336. 'We have, by the blessing of God, been hitherto prosperous and successful in your majesty's affairs here, and should be still hopeful, by the mercy of God, under the royal directions of your sacred majesty, to vindicate your majesty's honour, and recover your rights here, and take due vengeance on those traitors for the innocent blood they have spilled, if we might be strengthened or supported therein by needful supplies forth of England; but these supplies being hitherto expected to come from the Parliament of England, (on which if your majesty had not relied, we are assured you would, in your high wisdom, have found out some other means to preserve this your kingdom,) and so great and apparent a failure having happened therein, and all the former and late long continuing easterly winds bringing us no other provisions than those few cheeses and butter, and no advertisements being brought us of any future supply to be so much as in the way hither, whereby there might be any likelihood that considerable means of support for your majesty's army might arrive here in any reasonable time, before we be totally swallowed up by the rebels, and your kingdom by them wrested from you: we find ourselves so disappointed of our hopes from the Parliament as must needs trench to the utter loss of the kingdom, if your majesty, in your high wisdom, ordain not some present means of preservation for us. And considering that if now, by occasion of that unhappy and unexpected failing of support from thence, we shall be less successful in your services here against the rebels than hitherto (whilst we were enabled with some means to serve you) we have been, the shame and dishonour may, in common construction of those that know not the inwards of the cause, be imputed to us, and not to the failings that disabled us: and considering principally and above all things the high and eminent trust of your affairs here, deposited with us by your sacred majesty; we may not forbear, in discharge of our duty, thus freely and plainly to declare our humble apprehensions, to the end your majesty, thus truly understanding the terribleness of our condition, may find out some such means of support, to preserve to your majesty and your royal posterity this your ancient and rightful crown and kingdom, and derive deliverance and safety to the remnant of your good subjects yet left here, as in your excellent judgment you shall find to be most for your honour and advantage. And so praying [to] the King of kings to guide and direct you for the best in this high and important cause, and in all other your counsels and actions, we humbly remain. 1643

From your majesty's castle of Dublin,
the 11th day of May, 1643.'

337. There was no sober man in Ireland or England who believed it to be in the King's power to enable this people to carry on the war; for all men too well knew that he had neither money, victuals, ammunition, or shipping, to supply them: and therefore his majesty could not but conclude, that, by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that war which he could not maintain. And it is very true that at the same time with this letter he

1643 received advice and information from some of his prime ministers of that kingdom, who were well known and acknowledged perfectly to abhor the rebellion, that there was no reasonable hope of preserving his Protestant subjects and his own interest in that kingdom but by treating with the rebels, and making a peace or truce with them. The King well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself by entering into any treaty with those rebels, and that they who had persuaded many to believe that he had given countenance to, if not fomented, that rebellion, against all the human evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit when they should be able to say that he had made a peace with them: besides, that he had bound himself not to make a peace with the rebels in Ireland without the consent of his two Houses of Parliament in England. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable than that his Protestant subjects there could not defend the little they had left without extraordinary aid and assistance out of England; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible that the Parliament would not or could not; so that it seemed only in his election whether he would preserve the remainder of his Protestant subjects there, and that whole kingdom, in dependence upon his Crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal, or suffer them to be rooted out, and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a kingdom when it was in his own power to have retained it within his subjection. And whatever he had obliged himself to in those Acts of Parliament which he had passed for relief of Ireland, before any rebellion in England, was not that there might never be a peace in Ireland, but that the two Houses might co-operate with him, whereby the rebels might be reduced to those straits that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their duties: and that, instead of any such co-operation, the two Houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those monies which had been raised by those very Acts for the relief of Ireland in the maintenance of the armies which had given his majesty battle in England, expressly contrary to the words of those Acts; and therefore that his

majesty might be reasonably disobliged from those covenants on his part. 1643

338. Upon these considerations, after two months' delay, to see whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities and advices from thence, about the end of July the King writ to the Lords Justices in Ireland that they should issue out a commission under the Great Seal of Ireland to the lord marquis of Ormonde, to treat and conclude a cessation of arms with the rebels upon such articles and conditions as he should judge most reasonable, and, during that cessation, that such agents as they should make choice of should have access to his royal person, to present their own propositions for peace: so careful was the King not to infringe that Act of Parliament, which many understood to be dissolved by themselves, there being no colourable clause in it by which it was not in his majesty's own power to make a cessation; and the peace itself he respited in such a manner that he might receive advice and concurrence from the Parliament, if they would not decline any farther consideration or care of that kingdom. July 31. Aug. 31.

339. Hereupon the lord marquis of Ormonde, being then only general of the horse there[1], entered upon a treaty with commissioners authorized by the council at Kilkenny, to whose jurisdiction the rebels had committed the whole government of their affairs; and articles of cessation being prepared for a year, and perused and approved by the Lords Justices and Council, without whose advice the marquis would not proceed, and all the principal officers of the army having given it under their hands, (being present likewise at the treaty,) that it was most necessary for the preservation of that kingdom that a cessation should be made for a year upon those articles and conditions; and the rebels undertaking to pay to his majesty's use thirty thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling within a short time, whereof fifteen thousand eight hundred pounds in ready money, and the other fifteen thousand pounds one half in money and the other half in good beefs at thirty pounds the Aug. 26. June 20[2].

[1] [Altered from 'being the lieutenant general of the King's army there.']
[2] [Rushworth, III. ii. 545.]

1643 score; a cessation of arms was concluded by the marquis, and
Sept. 15. published with the articles and conditions by the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, to begin on the fifteenth day of September, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

340. This cessation was no sooner known in England but
Sept. 30. the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his majesty's dishonour that can be imagined, persuading the people that the rebels were now brought to their last gasp, and reduced to so terrible a famine that, like cannibals, they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately and utterly rooted out, if, by the popish counsels at Court, the King had not been persuaded to consent to this cessation. It is one of the instances of the strange, fatal misunderstandings which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the King used in meddling at all with the business of that kingdom from the time of the rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his majesty's disservice and dishonour made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of men, and not only of vulgar-spirited people, but of those who resisted all other infusions and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, (besides the disease of the time, which imputed all designs to designs upon religion, and whatsoever was done by Papists to the zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own religion,) than that the chief managers and conductors of their counsels found it necessary to aver many things of fact upon their own knowledge, (by which they found the understanding of men liable to be captivated,) which in truth were not so: as I found by some sober men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse and conference with them, that they did upon such assurance believe that the King had done somewhat in that business of Ireland, (some having avowed that they had seen his hand to such and such letters and instructions,) which, upon as much knowledge as any man can morally have of a negative, I am sure he never did.

341. I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper evidence of the state of Ireland at the time of the cessation, and of the unanswerable motives which prevailed with the King to consent to it, two letters; the one, of expostulation from the two Houses to the Lords Justices and Council, which was received by them after the cessation [was] agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the answer of that Board thereunto; with the contents whereof the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted till long after their delivery. The letters were in these words:— 1643 July 4.

342. '*To our very good lords, the Lords Justices and Council for the kingdom of Ireland.*

'Our very good lords,

'The Lords and Commons in Parliament have commanded us to let you know they have seen your letter of the tenth of June, directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of State, in the preamble whereof is an expression to this effect; that your present difficulties are occasioned through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war. This letter and Act of Council were sent by his majesty from Oxford, to whom they believe you have sent copies of both, and have just cause to suspect that there is an impious design now on foot to sell for nought the crying blood of many hundred thousands of British Protestants, by a dishonourable, insufferable peace with the rebels, and then to lay the blame and shame of this upon the Parliament; a plot suitable to those counsels that have both projected and fomented this unparalleled rebellion: for those who contrived the Powder treason intended to lay it on the Puritans. And although they cannot think your lordships intended to further this design by this expression, yet they have cause to believe you have forgotten the present condition of this kingdom; the supplies they have sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of their own wants: what relief going thither hath been taken away both by sea and land, and by whom; and what discouragements have been given them in return: so that as your lordships do truly observe the Protestant party in that city desirous to contribute in all things towards preservation of that kingdom, and that all the opposition therein is from those of the Popish party, so ought you justly to conclude that the Protestant party in this kingdom have contributed, and are still endeavouring to contribute, moneys, ammunition, victuals, and other necessaries, for the saving of that kingdom, and that the Popish and malignant party here, now in arms against the Parliament and kingdom, have not assisted in the least measure this pious work, but on the contrary do hinder and oppose the same. Neither should your lordships conceive that only the charge of that war was referred to, and undertaken by, the Parliament, as if their part were to be your bankers, only to provide moneys for you to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the war, although an Act of Parliament

1643 hath invested them with that power; which they must assume and vindicate as the means to save that kingdom, and shall bring to condign punishment those there who in this conjuncture of affairs have advised the commission to hear what the rebels can say or propound for their own advantage; the letters to divest their committee of an authority given them by both Houses; and that advised the late alteration of government there; as enemies to the weal of both kingdoms, and fautors of that rebellion. In the last place, we are forbidden to tell you what supplies of money, victuals, ammunition, and other necessaries, are in good forwardness to be sent over, for the support of the officers and soldiers there, and by whose incessant care, lest they should seem to answer that scandal by excuse, which deserves an high resentment. This being all we have in command for the present, we bid your lordships farewell, and remain

Your lordships' friends to serve you,
Grey of Warke,
Speaker of the House of Peers pro tempore;
William Lenthall,
Speaker of the Commons' House in Parliament.

343. 'The Lords and Commons will examine the demeanour of the ships appointed to guard those coasts; and might have expected a copy of Mountroe's letter to colonel Crawford, which came to your hands before the tenth of June, and [haply [1]] would discover the treasons of the rebels sent by your enemies to destroy you, as well as a complaint of those sea-captains sent by your friends to defend you; whose neglect and misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punished, according as their demerits shall appear.

Westminster, the 4th of July, 1643.'

344. '*To our very good lord, the lord Speaker of the right honourable the Lords' House of Parliament in the kingdom of England; and to our very loving friend, William Lenthall, esq. Speaker of the honourable Commons' House in Parliament in the said kingdom.*

'Our very good lord, and Mr. Speaker of the Commons' House in Parliament,

'Your joint letters of the fourth of July last, directed to us, were so long in coming as they came not to our hands until the sixth of October. By those your letters you signify, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament have commanded you to let us know that they have seen our letters of the tenth of June, directed to the Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of State, in the preamble whereof there is an expression to this effect; that our present difficulties are occasioned through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in England, who undertook the charge of this war: to which expression, it seems, exception is taken, and interpretations made thereof far otherwise, we are sure, than was intended by us, and, as we conceive, otherwise than the true sense of those words can bear. It is true that when we were necessitated to set on foot the new imposition raised here, in nature of an excise, towards keeping this army from perishing by famine, it became necessary to express, (in the Act of Council whereby we ordered it,) the reasons inducing us to set on foot here a thing

[1] ['haply,' *Lords' Journals,* VI. 120. 'happily,' MS.]

so unknown to his majesty's laws and gracious government, and the difficul- 1643
ties wherewith we contended which did necessitate that resolution; and in expressing those difficulties we used that expression, to shew whence our difficulties were occasioned; and that we have therein declared the truth, we crave leave to mind you of some particulars.

345. 'If we should look so far back as to repeat the substance of many despatches sent from this Board since the beginning of this rebellion; some to our very good lord, the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom; some to the lords and others, members of both Houses, his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of this kingdom; and some to the Speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament there; it would prove a voluminous work; and therefore we forbear to look farther back into those despatches than to the time when the committee, sent thence hither, were here; who, at their arrival here in the end of October 1642, brought with them some money and provisions, but far short of that which the necessities of this army required, and indeed so inconsiderable in respect of those necessities, as even before that committee departed they saw the money they had brought wholly issued, and the high and unavoidable necessity of a further speedy and plentiful supply of money and other provisions. By letters from this Board of the twentieth of January 1642, and directed to the Speaker of the Commons' House of Parliament there, it was signified thither, that the provisions of victuals here were then at the very bottom; that that committee then here had certified thither those wants; that if a personal supply of victual arrived not here very speedily, the army could not subsist, but must have been constrained to disband, to the loss of this kingdom, and utter destruction of the few subjects here: that the want of treasure here to pay the army enforced this Board to issue victual to the common soldier, and others, towards their pay, which did the sooner exhaust the magazines of victual; that the captains and other officers, not having relief that way, were reduced to great extremities, as had been formerly often represented thither; and therefore this Board, by the said letters, then moved, that treasure might be sent us speedily, so to redeem the officers from the calamities they suffered, and this Board from their unsupportable clamours, and to enable the payment, in some part, in money to the common soldier; so to make the victual we then expected to hold out the longer.

346. 'It was also by those letters then advertised thither, that the ex- 1642
tremities of the officers of the army had begotten so much discontent Dec. 17.
amongst them, as divers colonels and others of them presented at this Board a Remonstrance, whereof a copy was then sent enclosed in the said letters; which Remonstrance did exceedingly trouble and perplex us, lest it might beget such distractions amongst us as might give too much advantage to the rebels. But after full debate thereof at this Board, it was here directed, that, in present to render some subsistence to the officers until Jan. 5.
treasure arrived forth of England, every man in this city should bring in half of his plate, to be paid for it when treasure arrived; whereupon some plate was brought in, and applied towards the army. This Board did also signify by those letters, that without some speedy relief forth of England the burden here was become too heavy to be borne; and therefore, in discharge of our duty to God, to our gracious sovereign, to that kingdom and

1643 to this, we held ourselves bound clearly to make known, that, unless we were speedily supplied from thence with money, arms, and victuals, it would be impossible for us any farther to prosecute this war, or to preserve from sudden confusion this state and government: so highly did the discontent of the officers and the disorder of the soldier threaten us, that it might be easily apprehended what, (in all human probability,) must become of us, when it was then evident that here was no money, nor any possibility of procuring any in this city, when our victuals were spent, when a great part of the army had no arms; which we doubted, and feared, (for the reasons in those letters expressed,) that the soldiers would make prey of us and this city at last; and when we saw that the destruction then threatened against us must then go further, even to the loss of this crown and kingdom, and to the highly endangering of that kingdom also; which, for the honour of his majesty and the English nation, we by our said letters desired might, (by the wisdom of that honourable House,) be speedily prevented, by hastening away, with all possible speed, supply of money, arms, and victuals.

347. 'By other letters of this Board, directed to Mr. Speaker, and dated the said 20th of January 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was become of absolute necessity that there should be sent us from thence speedily six hundred able light geldings for recruits, to be defalked out of the entertainments of those that should receive them. By other letters from this Board of the same date, directed to Mr. Speaker, it was signified thither, that we had contracted an agreement here with Theodore Schout and Jacob Ablin, merchants, that Anthony Tirenes, in London, or Daniel Wibrant, in Amsterdam, should receive seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for which the said Theodore and Jacob had undertaken, by their agreement with us, to buy in Holland, and to transport from thence hither, at their own charge and adventure, several proportions of arms mentioned in a docquet then sent enclosed in our said letters; and they undertook so to secure it by insurance, and to provide such a ship of force, as we might be assured to have all those arms arrive here by the tenth of March now last past. And we by our said letters earnestly besought that the said sum of seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings might, by order of that honourable House, be speedily paid to the said Tirenes or Wibrant, that those provisions might arrive here by the tenth of March, that we might not lose the advantage of the then next spring for recovery of such of the seaports, and other places of importance, as the rebels had gotten, and for proceeding effectually in this war. Those letters also moved for other provision of war, which we conceived might be had in England in reasonable time; and we then sent a docquet of those also, desiring earnestly they might be sent us speedily. And although there was an agent sent from hence in November 1641, to solicit the despatches sent from hence, who attended at London when those our letters were sent hence, yet of so great importance was that despatch, requiring instant and speedy answer and supply from thence, as we adjudged it necessary to give special instructions to the lord Conway, and others, (besides that agent then there attending,) to move his majesty and solicit the Houses of Parliament to hasten

unto us, with all possible speed, the provisions in those three letters con- 1643
tained. And that there might nothing be omitted that by solicitation could be obtained, there were agents also sent thither from the army to solicit for them. By letters from this Board of the twentieth of February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we again desired, with all possible earnestness, that the provisions of all sorts expressed in those three letters of the twentieth of January, and in the docquets therewith sent, might be hastened to us, and that the said seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, might be speedily paid. And in those last letters we again signified our miserable and unspeakable want of victuals, arms, munition, money, shoes, and other necessaries, and that if the supplies we moved for came not speedily we were unavoidably in danger to be as much devoured by our own wants as by the sword of the rebels; and that our want of corn was so much the more in regard that, (in confidence to be plentifully supplied forth of England,) we caused great destruction to be made of corn; there being indeed nothing conducing more to the destruction of the rebels than the burning of all corn. We also then signified the necessity of sending a farther supply of powder and match; and we declared that no words could sufficiently express the greatness of the danger we should incur if our supplies came not speedily: that the plate brought in amounted not to one thousand two hundred pounds, a sum very inconsiderable towards relief of the officers.

348. 'By letters of this Board of the twenty-fifth of February 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that, when our means from thence failed and our credits could hold out no longer, we were constrained towards relief of the army to force from the Protestant merchants here, as well English as strangers, not only the commodities they had brought hither but the native commodities also, undertaking to them that they should receive payment at London; which failing, that those that would supply us were disheartened, and durst not come hither with commodities. Wherefore we again, by those letters, besought speedy supply from thence, declaring that otherwise the army and we must perish; and so far were we transported with grief in the consideration of the high extremities of this kingdom and army, as we did, by those letters, lament for the shame and dishonour which we then foresaw would reflect upon the English nation, if then, after so long and often forewarnings given by us to that honourable House, this kingdom were lost, and that for want of supplies from thence; wherein we then declared that all the comfort left us was that we had done our parts, and discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, and to all his kingdoms, who must have borne their parts with us in so heavy a loss.

349. 'By letters from this Board dated the twenty-third of March 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified, that our wants enforced us to distribute the soldiers for their victuals in and throughout this city and suburbs; which we signified could not long hold, considering the poverty of this place; and therefore, to avoid utter confusion, we did again and again beseech most earnestly that, above all things, victuals and munition might be sent us speedily, and that money, arms, clothes, shoes, and other provisions might also be sent; declaring that if they yet came speedily, the kingdom, and his majesty's forces here, might be thereby redeemed out of part of their

1643 distresses, and we enabled, (by the blessing of God,) to give his majesty such an account of this kingdom as would be for the glory of the King our master and the honour of the English nation, in the subduing this horrid rebellion; which, by reason of our wants, and in no other respect, was then grown very terrible: and we did again call for the provisions moved for by our several former letters of the twentieth of January and twentieth of February, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, and those also which we expect from London; declaring that unless those supplies came, we should be disabled from doing service on the rebels the then next spring or the then succeeding summer, and must undoubtedly put the rebels into a condition of prevailing against us, which we well believed the kingdom of England would never have permitted against so faithful servants and valiant soldiers as his majesty yet had here. By those letters also we signified, that it was necessary that there should be here, at this harbour of Dublin, by the middle of April at least two ships of good strength, and that the ships designed for guarding the other parts of the coasts of this kingdom should be hastened away with all possible speed.

350. 'By letters from this Board directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the 4th of April 1643, we represented again the unspeakable miseries of the officers and soldiers, for want of all things; and all those made the more unsupportable, in the want of food; and that this city was then apparently found to be unable to help us as it had formerly done; and repeated again, (in as lively terms as we could,) the high extremities fallen and increasing upon us; declaring that we were enforced to see who had any thing yet left him, not taken from him to help us; and that although there were but few such, and some poor merchants, whom we had formerly by the law of necessity utterly undone, yet that we were forced to wrest their commodities from them: that there were few here, of ourselves or others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced rigour of our proceedings towards preserving the army; and we earnestly desired that his majesty and the English nation might not suffer so great, if not irrecoverable, prejudice and dishonour, as must unavoidably be the consequence of our not being relieved suddenly, but that yet, (although it were then even almost at the point to be too late,) supplies of victuals and munition in present might be hastened hither, to keep life until the rest might follow: declaring also that there was no victual in the store, and that there would not be an hundred barrels of powder left when the out-garrisons, (as they must then instantly have been,) were supplied; and that the residue of our provisions must also come speedily after, or otherwise that England could not hope to secure Ireland, or secure themselves against Ireland, but, in the loss of it, must look for such enemies from hence as would perpetually disturb the peace of his majesty and his kingdom of England, and annoy them by sea and land, as we had often formerly represented thither; which mischiefs we signified might yet be prevented, if we were but then forthwith enabled, from thence, with means to overcome this rebellion.

351. 'We then also again renewed our requests for the provisions mentioned in our letters of the twentieth of January, and for the payment of the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three

shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected 1643
from London. We then also sent, enclosed in our letters to Mr. Speaker, a copy of a writing signed by sundry officers of the army, which was in a style threatening much danger; whereby appeared the high necessity of hastening treasure hither to pay them and the rest of the officers, and provide victual for the soldier. On the tenth of April 1643 we received letters from Mr. Speaker of the seventeenth of March, in answer of our letters of the twentieth and twenty-fifth of February. Those letters from Mr. Speaker advised free trade and truck to be given to merchants, by taking our native commodities, that cannot be manufactured here, for their corn and other victuals, and carrying them into England, or other places not prohibited. And by our letters directed to Mr. Speaker, dated the twenty-second day of April, in answer to his said letters of the seventeenth of March, we made it appear that that design could not hold to derive benefit to this army. By those our letters we signified also, that the necessities of the army still pressed us by degrees to break the merchants here, by wresting their commodities from them upon promise of satisfaction in England: that the failing of that satisfaction in England, as it had undone them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the service here: that we engaged the word of this State, to procure payment to many others, out of the next treasure that shall arrive forth of England, which courses, though very hard, did help us for a time; that when those failed, we began at ourselves, then at others, then at all fraternities and corporations, as bakers, brewers, butchers, vintners, and the like, then at all particular persons observed to have any visible substance, not being able to spare poor men who (to gain a poor living) made profession, some of selling hot waters, and some of cutting tobacco: that, in the end, all other means failing, we had recourse to the only native commodity, hides; seizing on all that could be found, either on ship-board, ready to be exported hence, (with purpose in some of the owners of them to return victuals hither, which we were not able to wait for,) or on shore, prepared for ship-board; and made use of them to get the army in a few days' bread, still hoping provision of victuals might come to keep them alive; which did draw upon us infinite clamour.

352. 'And by the said letters we earnestly besought, that, before we should be utterly swallowed up in the confusion of affairs wherewith we were beset, the destruction of this State and army and kingdom being then no less feared to arise from the army, (though sent hither for their preservation,) than from the fury of the rebels, if that honourable House would not look back into all our several letters sent thither, which we then declared should for ever acquit us before God and the world as having discharged our duties to God, to his majesty, and to this his kingdom, in fully and timely and often representing thither the evils then ready to seize upon this State, the army and kingdom, and the means of preventing them, yet at least they would be pleased to review our said several letters of the 20th and 25th of February, of the 20th of January, 23rd of March, and 4th of April. We then also signified, that the soldiers, (pressed through wants,) attempted tumults and mutiny, plundered divers of the inhabitants of this city, as well English and Protestants as others: that we apprehended those disorders but beginnings of what we doubted would then shortly ensue, even the ransack

1643 of this city, if by supplies forth of England it were not prevented: that then there would be no refuge left, either for the army or other English here: that we were not able to send out the soldiers, for want of money to furnish ordinary necessities and of ammunition. Wherefore we then again earnestly moved, that some means might be found for complying with our desires in those our several letters expressed; certifying that the state of affairs here could not possibly admit the least deferring, and that no help was to be expected from hence, as we had often and fully in former letters signified thither: that if it were not immediately supplied forth of England with powder, we should not be able to defend ourselves or offend the rebels; and that, above all things, munition, money, and victuals, were of necessity to be sent in the first place, and the other provisions to be sent after; which also we certified most needful to be done with all possible speed.

353. 'By our letters of the 6th of May 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we signified how necessary it was that the intended establishment should be considered there, and put into such a way as to be made perfect, and (receiving his majesty's gracious approbation,) might be sent hither; which we desired to be hastened, that the officers who daily labour in the public services might the better know what they are to have; of which establishment we have not yet had any return. By our letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of May 1643, we signified, that, although by letters from Mr. Speaker, dated the 17th of March, it was advertised hither that six weeks' provision of victuals for each province was in preparing, yet that it was not come, or if it were come, that it was a supply far below that which was necessary to be then sent hither. And we then again repeated the miserable condition of this army, through want of all things, especially money, victuals, clothes, arms, and munition: that there was not above forty barrels of powder in the store, (a mean and inconsiderable quantity for this army, on whom depends the preservation of the kingdom,) and we again desired, in a case of so high and imminent danger, and that with all possible importunity, that a course might be then instantly taken for hastening away powder with all speed, and that the other provisions also of all sorts, mentioned in our former several letters of the 20th of January, 20th and 25th of February, the 23rd of March, and the 4th and 22nd of April, might be also hastened away; and that the seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shillings, for arms to be provided in Holland, besides those we expected from London, might be paid.

354. 'By those letters also we signified, that we could not but lament our misfortune, and the dishonour reflecting on the English nation, that the season of the year should be so far entered into, and yet (notwithstanding all the representations often and timely enough made thither of affairs here) no means put into our power to make use thereof in a vigorous prosecution of the war; but instead thereof, (notwithstanding all the endeavour and industry here used to prevent it,) we then beheld ourselves sunk deeply into a gulf of confusion and distress of affairs, being equally in danger to be devoured through our wants, or to be destroyed by the rebels, for want of needful abilliments of war to enable our defence, as had been formerly often and fully declared thither; and therefore we again pressed to be redeemed from the terribleness of our condition, by

such timely accessions of supplies forth of England as were contained in our said former despatches. 1643

355. 'By our letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the 16th of May 1643, we desired that 320*l.* might be paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry particulars necessary for the chirurgions of this army; there being great want thereof for the cures of wounded men. And then we sent and employed sir Thomas Wharton, knight, a member of this army, purposely to solicit the means of our relief, that so we might omit nothing that we conceived might conduce to the hastening of our expected supplies. And by our letters of the 16th of May, then sent to Mr. Speaker, we signified that the kingdom was then in more danger than ever to be forced out of our hands, for want of timely supplies out of England; and we desired most earnestly that his despatch might be hastened for our preservation, that, if it were possible, the King and kingdom of England might yet then be preserved from that irrecoverable prejudice and dishonour which must necessarily accompany and follow the loss of this kingdom.

356. 'And here we may not omit to mention that we prevailed with divers persons to advance provisions to us, at several times, to answer the crying necessities of this army; and to some we gave our bills, in nature of bills of exchange, and to others our own bonds, undertaking repayment at London by the Parliament there; which we did in confidence to find ready payment there accordingly: and we do not yet hear that those bills of exchange or bonds are yet paid there; but we find some of the parties ready to sue and implead us here for those debts, though contracted only for the public service.

357. 'Which proceeding of this Board, from time to time, we thus at large deduce, that so it may appear fully that we have discharged those duties which we owe to his majesty and to the trust of his majesty's affairs here, in representing thither fully and timely and often the wants and extremities to which this kingdom and army were reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for the relief and preservation of both; and yet in all that time, namely, from the said 20th day of January 1642 to the 10th of June 1643, which is the day of the date of our letters to which yours of the 4th of July is an answer, or from that time to this, there arrived here as sent from the Parliament of England towards the relief of this army, and for maintenance of this war, but the particulars following, viz. forty-nine thousand two hundred forty-eight pounds of butter; forty-nine thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of cheese; four hundred forty-seven barrels and a half of wheat and rye; three hundred threescore and seven barrels of pease; and three hundred fifty-six barrels of oats; also five hundred suits of clothes, one thousand cassocks, two thousand eight hundred and eighteen caps; also eight and twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of match, thirty-eight hundred two quarters and nine pound of shot, and three hundred threescore and fourteen barrels of powder; of which provisions of munition, there were three hundred and one and forty barrels of powder, and five hundred fifty-five pounds two quarters and four and twenty pounds of match, which was the munition we had contracted for here, and in the way, coming from Holland, was intercepted at sea, and carried to Callis, and afterwards set free there by the

1643 mediation of his majesty and the Houses of Parliament in England, but the price thereof stands charged on the said Houses of Parliament.

358. 'This was not above a week's provision of victuals, or thereabouts, for the army in Leinster, being fifteen regiments of foot, twenty-two troops of horse, and four troops of dragoons, besides train of artillery and four hundred firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in supplying us, and that failure was not occasioned through any neglect on our parts, in not representing thither the wants and extremities endured by this army; and the means of their supply is, as we conceive, very clear by those several despatches sent from us to Mr. Speaker. And seeing that the charge of this war was referred to, and undertaken by, the Houses of Parliament of England, and that by those despatches they fully understood the condition of affairs here, we offer it to any man's consideration whether or no we had not just cause to conceive, and accordingly to express in that Act of Council, that our difficulties, (which were necessary to be mentioned in that Act,) were occasioned through the failure of the Houses of Parliament in England.

359. 'And whereas you write, that the Lords and Commons in Parliament do believe we have sent copies of our said letters and Act of Council to his majesty, it is true that we have so done; and therein acquitted ourselves towards that duty which we owe him; and had failed in our duties if we had done otherwise. But how from that, as we conceive, necessary and true expression of ours in the said Act of Council, or from our sending a copy thereof and of our said letters to his majesty, there can be any just cause to suspect (as your letters seem to infer) there is such an impious design now on foot as your letters mention, we confess we do not understand, or any design at all other than the needful settling here of the imposition in nature of an excise in those our letters and Act of Council mentioned; without which this army could not have subsisted to this time; and was pressed by the committee from the Parliament here, but then avoided, our hopes being then more, and our necessities not so great as they were when we laid it. And as we find by your letters that the Lords and Commons in Parliament there have done us the right, by your said letters, to signify that they cannot think we intended by that expression to farther the design in your letters mentioned, so we hold it necessary to declare that we neither have forgotten nor can forget the present condition of that kingdom; but we have a long time beheld, and still behold and lament, with bleeding hearts the woful condition of that kingdom, and how God's hand is still stretched out against us in those heavy distractions there; yet we comfort ourselves with hope that God, (in mercy to his majesty and to all his kingdoms and people,) will at length, in his own good time, answer the prayers and tears of us his majesty's servants, and many thousands of others his good subjects there and here, continually poured out for his majesty and his kingdom, in removing that heavy judgment, and settling peace and tranquillity there, to the glory of God, the honour of his majesty, and the joint happiness of all his subjects in all his kingdoms and dominions.

360. 'Nor have we forgotten the supplies of all sorts sent hither by the Parliament, but do very well remember them. But we confess we know

not what relief coming hither hath been taken away, either by sea or land, 1643
or by whom, or what discouragement hath been given them in return: only we have heard, that the shipping employed by the rebels at Wexford did give them some interruption at sea; and that was occasioned by neglect of duty in those who commanded the ships designed for the guard of the coasts of this kingdom: and the said ship bound hither from Holland with munition, which we had contracted for here, was intercepted at sea, and carried to Callis, and afterwards set free there by the mediation of his majesty and the Houses of Parliament in England. And we find that some ships sent hither, it seems, at first with provisions from London, and other ships bound hither with provisions on private men's adventures, were taken away even from this harbour, a few days before the cessation of arms here, as they were coming in, and carried to Leverpool, by one captain Dausk, a person employed by the two Houses of Parliament there in the command of a ship; and that ship commanded by Dausk, and other ships employed at Leverpool, do now, and have a long time stayed on that side, laden with provision of victuals, coals, and other necessary relief, bound from thence hither to be sold; which, if they had arrived here, would have brought great relief to this army and the inhabitants in this city, though on the adventure of the bringers; which we hold necessary to represent thither, to the end that their uncharitableness towards those poor men that would adventure hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards this distressed army and city and many of his majesty's Protestant subjects therein, [may, being found true, receive due punishment there[1]] so as they, or others, may not hereafter presume to offend in that kind.

361. 'And whereas you write, that we should not conceive that only the charge of this war was referred to and undertaken by the Parliament, as if their part were to be our bankers, only to provide monies for us to spend, and were not to advise and direct the managing of the war; we confess we neither did nor do conceive the Parliament there to be bankers for us, but did esteem them as those to whom the King our master referred the charge of this war, and to whom, as so intrusted by his majesty, this Board from time to time made application; and if any advice had come from them concerning the managing of the war, we should have endeavoured to have made the best use thereof for the furtherance of his majesty's service here. And here we hold it necessary to declare, that when we understood that his majesty, at the humble desire of the Lords and Commons of Parliament in England, had in April 1642 granted a commission to some members of both Houses, for ordering and disposing all matters there for the defence, relief, and recovery of this kingdom; and that his majesty commanded all his officers, ministers, and subjects of his kingdoms of England and Ireland to be obedient, aiding, and assisting to the said commissioners in the due execution of the said commission; and that by his majesty's instructions annexed to the said commission, his majesty gave it in charge to those commissioners to advertise his Lieutenant of Ireland, the Council, and other governors and commanders here, what they conceived to be needful for the prosecution of the war in the best manner, for the defence of this his kingdom, and ease of the great charges and expenses which, by

[1] [The words in brackets are omitted in the MS.]

1643 occasion of this rebellion lay upon his loving subjects of his kingdom of England: we therefore, by our letters of the 7th of June 1642, directed to those his majesty's commissioners, besought, amongst other things, present and particular direction for the prosecution of the war; which yet we have not received: only we had advice from thence to send some forces into Connaught, which was done; and for sending some forces into Munster, which, by our letters of the 13th of September 1642 to the commissioners there, we signified was not possible for us to do, unless we were plentifully supplied of those things whereof the wants then certified thither did then disenable us.

362. 'Concerning the commission in your letters mentioned, it was not to hear what the rebels could say or propound for their own advantage, as your letters mention; but his majesty having received an humble petition, in the name of the recusants of Ireland, desiring to be heard, his majesty thought it not unjust, or inconvenient for him, to receive from them what they could say unto him; to whom they insinuated that they would yet yield due obedience. And therefore his majesty, by his commission under his Great Seal of England, (wherein he declared his extreme detestation of the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland have, without any ground or colour, raised against him, his crown, and dignity,) authorized some of his ministers here to hear at large what the petitioners should say or propound; which his majesty, by the said commission, directed that the petitioners, or the principal of them, authorized by the rest, should set down in writing under their hands; and the commissioners to send the same to his majesty; whereupon his majesty by the said commission declared, he would take such farther consideration as should be just, honourable, and fit for his majesty: and that that course gave not the least interruption to the proceeding of the war appears by this, that on the 18th of March (being in the time the commissioners authorized by his majesty gave meeting to those of the other side, upon that commission) the lord marquis of Ormond, though one of those commissioners, in his return from Ross, with about two thousand five hundred foot and five hundred horse of his majesty's army, fought with the army of the rebels, consisting of about six thousand foot and six hundred and fifty horse, and obtained a happy and glorious victory against them; and the rebels' army being defeated and wholly routed, and their baggage and munition seized on, his majesty's forces lodged that night where they had gained the victory, as by former letters of this Board, of the 4th of April 1643, directed to Mr. Speaker, we formerly signified thither: which we thus repeat, to manifest that that commission, or the meeting thereupon, gave not any manner of interruption to the proceeding of the war.

363. 'Concerning the letters you mention to divest the committee of both Houses there of an authority given them by both Houses, we remember that his majesty, by his letters of the third of February 1642, understanding that the then Justices and Council had admitted, without his order or knowledge, to sit in Council with them in this his kingdom Mr. Robert Goodwin and Mr. Reynolds, and that thereby they were become so bold as to take upon them to hear and debate of matters treated of in Council, his majesty by his said letters signified his express command that they should

not be permitted to sit or be present any more at his majesty's Council-table here; but if they had any business, his majesty willed that they should attend as others of their quality: which his majesty's pleasure was humbly obeyed by his said Justices and Council, with that duty and submission which was due from them to his royal commands. And as his majesty by his said letters required that if those persons had any business they should attend as others of their quality, so, if they had afterwards offered any business at this Board, they should have been heard therein; which was also signified to them before their departure hence. And now, upon this occasion, we having perused the copies they delivered at this Board of the order of both Houses dated the sixth of October 1642, and of their instructions, do find indeed that, by the said order, the said Robert Reynolds and Robert Goodwin were to have the credence, power, and esteem of a committee sent hither by the advice and authority of both Houses of Parliament; and that, by the said instructions, they were to be admitted to be present and vote at all consultations concerning the war; yet there is nothing in the said order or instructions for admitting them to sit or be present at his majesty's Council-table; which is that which his majesty by his said letters required should not be permitted; which cannot be conceived to be a divesting them of any authority given them by both Houses. 1643

364. 'And as to the late alteration of government here expressed in your letters, although his majesty in his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those governors which he had placed here, which was no more than he and his royal predecessors had usually done in all ages as often as they thought fit, yet that made no alteration in the government; but it in all times continued, and still continues, the same, though in other persons.

365. 'That part of your letters which declares that you are forbidden to tell us what supplies of money, victual, ammunition, and other necessaries, were then in a good forwardness to be sent hither for the support of the officers and soldiers here, requires no answer on our parts other than this truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Concerning Monroe's letters to colonel Crawford, we know of no treason to be discovered thereby; but for the sea-captains in your letters mentioned, it is certain that their neglects and misdeeds deserve punishment, which we desire they may find rather to their correction than to their ruin.

366. 'Thus we have given answer to those parts of your letters which we conceived concerned us; whereby we hope both Houses of Parliament there will now remain satisfied, as in the necessity and justice of our actions, so in the truth and candour of our intentions, in those particulars to which your said letters seem to take exception. And so we remain, from his majesty's castle of Dublin, 28 Oct. 1643,

Your lordships' very loving friends,

Jo. Borlase. Hen. Tichborne.
Rich. Bolton, Canc. La. Dublin. Ormond. Roscommon. Ant. Midensis.
Edw. Brabazon. Cha. Lambert. Ge. Shurley. Ger. Lowther. Tho. Rotherham.
Fr. Willoughby. Tho. Lucas. Ja. Ware. G. Wentworth.'

1643 367. The distractions in Ireland being by this means in some degree allayed, and both parties having time to breathe, the King in the next place considered how he might apply that cessation to the advancement of his affairs in England. One of the principal motives that induced that cessation was the miserable state of the army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his majesty had it only in his election, whether he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared to his own assistance in England, to which he was assured that the devotion and affection of most of the principal or considerable officers there cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in Scotland to invade this kingdom, but that they had called over their old general, the earl of Leven, who commanded the Scotch forces in Ireland, and many other officers and soldiers out of that kingdom, to form and conduct their army into this, and that there was likewise arts and industry used by some agents for the Parliament to persuade the English officers likewise to bring over their men for their service.

368. So that [the King [1]] directed the marquis of Ormonde to make choice of such regiments and troops as were necessary for the defence of the several garrisons, or as could be provided for and supported in that kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for England. To which purpose shipping was sent; with direction that those from and about Dublin should be shipped for Chester, to be joined to those forces under the command of the lord Capell, whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of sir William Bruerton, who, by an addition of forces from London, and with the assistance of sir Thomas Middleton and sir John Gell, was grown very strong, being backed by Lancashire, which, upon the matter, was wholly reduced to the

[1] ['having,' MS.]

obedience of the Parliament: and that the other forces out of Munster should be landed at Bristol, to be disposed of by the lord Hopton, who was forming a new army to oppose sir William Waller, who threatened an inroad into the west, or rather to seek him out by visiting Hampshire and Sussex, if the other were not ready to advance. 1643

369[1]. The Court [at Oxford] was much increased by the

[1] [§ 369 is from the *Life*, p. 256. The *Hist.*, which is resumed at § 370, continues in the interval at pp. 511–516, as follows:—

1. 'These conclusions being made with reference to Ireland, the King's first care was (if possible) to prevent the storm from Scotland, presuming, that if the Parliament were disappointed of that aid, they would consent to such a peace as might be honourable and safe for him. There were many persons of honour of that kingdom who professed entire submission and devotion to his majesty, and who I believe really were not inclined to that faction which his majesty apprehended. All these were directed privately to be advised and disposed by the marquis of Hambleton, (whom the King had newly raised to the dignity of a duke,) who had April 12. solemnly promised his majesty either by his interest in the councils to prevent the resolution to invade England, or by his power and the assistance of his party there to resist it; and therefore all those lords and persons of honour whom the King relied upon were directed to be entirely guided by him, all that the King desired from his subjects of that his native kingdom being that they would not rebel. It is very true many did then wonder that the King would repose so great a trust in the duke, who had at that time the misfortune not to be heartily confided in by his party of either kingdom; for he had had that rare dexterity, from a person the most avowedly odious to Scotland, and the most undoubtedly obnoxious to the justice of England, not only to wind himself out of those labyrinths in which he was thought to be entangled, but into the good opinion and favour of the Parliament, and into the full confidence of his own nation; which unusual fortune always is attended by suspicion and jealousy. Notwithstanding all which, the King could not reasonably avoid the giving him at that time this credit. He was by much, in alliance and dependance, the most powerful man in that kingdom, and so, if he were willing, was unquestionably able to give life and head to any party that should stoutly declare for the King, which no other man in Scotland, how well affected soever, was able to do: for though wary and reserved men might live there, and enjoy their liberty and estates, yet all persons who expressed a public dislike of what they did found no safety amongst them; and therefore the earl of Mountrose and some other noblemen had been forced to fly out of the kingdom, and were now in the King's armies; for which, before any public declaration in Scotland against the King, they were there proclaimed traitors, and all their estates seized on and confiscated. Besides, the King did really believe that all the artifice the duke had used had been only for his own preservation, without diminution of his affection and duty to him, and that when he

1643 Queen's presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with London,

could no longer be free from engagement in the war, he would sooner be engaged for him than against him. However, as was said before, there was no other man competent for that trust, and it was much better to oblige him by a confidence than to incense him by prejudice; and himself was very cheerful in undertaking to stop any such enterprise, and continued the same assurance by his frequent letters to his majesty.

2. 'When the Convention of Estates was summoned, being their Parliament, expressly against the King's consent, and without any colour of warrant from their own laws, the lords who depended upon his direction came to him to resolve what was to be done by them, alleging they thought it not justifiable in themselves, and very dishonourable to the King, that they should be present at that meeting, which, being convened against order, they might easily conclude would proceed as irregularly. The duke told them it was the King's pleasure that he and they should be all present at the Convention, and that it was possible they might be there able to divert the violence that was feared; if they could not, he would make such a declaration, if they would join with him, that should manifest what their opinions were. And by this means they were all, contrary to their own judgments, drawn to sit with, and consequently to countenance, those who were already declared against the King. It is very true that the King had
May 29. given his consent that they should all go to the Convention; for the duke writ him word that it was their unanimous opinion that it would very much conduce to his service that they should all appear there; that they believed they should be able to make so strong a party as to cross any solemn act that should reflect upon the public peace, his majesty's honour or interest: if they could not, having so much reason and justice on their side, then would be the time to enter their protestation against what they could not remedy, and from thence would be the proper rise to engage a party in the kingdom. Upon this instance, the King returned his approbation that they should not absent themselves.

June 22. 3. 'After the Convention was begun, it was quickly evident, by their high speeches against the King, and their declared resolutions to invade England, what was to be expected; so that the rest looked when the duke would pro-
June 26. test. In a dispute one day, the duke was so sharp in his expressions, as if he would protest, that some of the lords of the other party called upon him in an angry manner to explain himself, whether he meant to protest against their protestings[1]. Whereupon the earl of Lanrick, brother to the duke, and Secretary of Estate of that kingdom, upon whose judgment and fidelity the King no less relied than upon the duke, stood up, and said, "that noble lord (the duke) understood himself too well, and the high jurisdiction of that court where they were, to protest against the wisdom of the whole kingdom," and besought their lordships to have a more favourable opinion of him; to which the duke by his silence consented: and so there [were[2]] no more replies upon the matter. Upon which the other lords, seeing what they looked for, and was promised, not only not done, but, upon the matter, a

[1] [*Sic*: read 'proceedings'?]

[2] ['was,' MS.]

insomuch as a sworn messenger of the chamber, sent to London with a writ and proclamation for the adjournment of the term to 1643

judgment declared by them[1] upon whom the King relied that it was not to be done, by degrees withdrew to their houses; and, shortly after, a proclamation was issued out in the King's own name, relating the great danger Aug. 18.
his person was in by the power of the popish and prelatical party in England, and requiring all his subjects of that his native kingdom from the age of threescore to sixteen to appear at a day appointed, with their arms, when they should be disposed in such manner as was necessary for his relief and rescue (which is the way used in that kingdom suddenly to form an army). And to this declaration and proclamation the earl of Lanrick affixed his majesty's own signet, so that no question very many men of the inferior condition (which may justly remove the brand of infidelity and defection from the nation) did really believe they were summoned by the King himself for his defence and redemption out of distress.

4. 'Shortly after, the Covenant was returned out of England with a full approbation, both Houses having taken it and enjoined it through the kingdom. Thereupon the lords of the Secret Council, and those committees which were appointed to manage the affairs, ordered that whosoever refused Oct. 22.
to take the Covenant should be proceeded against as an enemy to both kingdoms, and his estate be sequestered, and disposed to the use of the public; the Assembly likewise of their Kirk pronouncing solemn excommunications against them. Then the duke Hambleton, earl of Lanrick, and all the other lords and persons of quality who would be thought to be of the King's party, made haste out of Scotland, and not one of them being stayed, though they came with their full equipage, they repaired to the King at Oxford. All discharged themselves of blame, by having no authority of themselves without being directed by the duke, who was so far from quickening them to appear, that, when they offered and pressed him that they might draw together, and some of them offered to bring with them one hundred horse, and that they might take the opportunity of a solemn funeral which was to be solemnized in that kingdom for an honourable lady[2], at which times great resort uses to be of all the friends and allies of that family, his grace utterly dissuaded them and absolutely refused to join with them. This, and other instances of his wariness, was alleged with great temper and sobriety by those who desired only to appear innocent themselves, not to charge the duke with failing in his duty. But there were others, to wit, the earls of Crawford and Mountrose, the lords Awboyne, Ogleby, Needsdale, and Makey, who barefaced, and in plain English, accused the duke of treason and disloyalty to the King from the beginning; that he had in the first stirs within that kingdom betrayed the trust reposed in him by his majesty, combined with those who invaded the kingdom; and pretended ever since to be for his majesty, and made those late great promises and undertakings, only that he might engross his majesty's confidence to himself, and thereby keep it out of the power of any other persons to do that service, and to hinder the pernicious designs which were against the King and kingdom. Many charges they gave in against

[1] [Altered in the MS. from 'him.'] [2] [Jane, countess of Roxburgh, in October.]

1643 Oxford, was apprehended as a spy, (as hath been said before,) and
§ 318. executed by martial law; and the two Houses caused a Great

him in writing, of words spoken and things done, some of ancient date, others of a later, in great derogation of his majesty's honour and service; and they made oath of the truth of their suggestions, which were indeed of a high nature, and against which the best that could be said was, that they were all his avowed enemies. That which appeared to his majesty to be capable of no excuse was, the betraying him in the case of going to the Convention, under pretence that it was the unanimous advice of the lords, when they were in truth unanimously against it; and the earl of Lanrick's setting the signet to that proclamation; which he denied not, alleging that he was required so to do by the major part of the Council, to which he was to submit; and that if he had refused it the signet would have been taken from him, together with his liberty, so that the same mischieve would have accrued to the King, and he should not have been able to escape to do him service. It may be it wrought somewhat upon his majesty, that the earl of Mountrose, and those lords whose fortunes were most desperate in Scotland for adhering to him, undertook yet to give some turn to the torrent of that kingdom, and, if they could not be diverted from invading England, to kindle the beacons in their own country, by which they should be recalled to quench the fire in their own houses, provided that it might not be in duke Hambleton's power to frustrate their designs. Upon the whole matter, as
Dec. 16. soon as the duke and his brother came to Oxford, the King sent them word that they should keep their chambers, and shortly after sent the duke with a guard of horse to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis castle in Cornwall, to be there detained in custody as a close prisoner, with all fit and necessary accommodation. The earl of Lanrick, within few days after the removal of his brother, found means, by the assistance of another Scotchman, a sworn servant to the King, to make an escape, and so he got to London, where he was received with such acceptation and joy, as if he had not fled from Scotland out of any notable animosity to their party.

5. 'The King directed the lords of his Council to consider what was fit to be farther done by him in order to the stopping this inundation, which he was now satisfied was breaking in from Scotland, though the season of the year (the winter being now approached) was thought to be of force enough to keep them for some time from putting their purposes in execution. The lords, albeit they were not forward to conclude that that people always obeyed the dictates of reason and justice and conscience, thought the discourse of an invasion from thence was so distant from all the rules of policy and prudence, and even those obligations in the late treaty ratified in this present Parliament, by which they had so many concessions, that they would not cancel what was due to them by making a forfeiture of their part; and that they might have no excuse to believe the two Houses of Parliament on the behalf of the kingdom were willing to receive them, they desired his majesty to give all his peers leave to write a letter to the lords of the Secret Council and the Conservators of the peace between the two kingdoms, to disavow and protest against any such desire, that so, when they considered that there were not above twenty peers privy to their counsels at Westmin-

Seal to be made, with the King's image and inscription, and 1643
put the same into the hands of commissioners; and so the courts

ster, or engaged in their party, (for there were only the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mowgrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrooke, the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Werke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrigge, Rochford, and Roberts, who were present, or had proxies there,) and saw the number and names of those who abominated those combinations, they might easily conclude how unacceptable their company would be to the kingdom. The King willingly approved of their advice, and so, about the end of November, they caused this letter to be sent by an express into Scotland, thus directed:

6. '"*To the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Conservators of the peace, of the kingdom of Scotland.*

'"Our very good lords, If for no other reason, yet that posterity may know we have done our duties, and not sat still while our brethren of Scotland were transported with a dangerous and fatal misunderstanding that the resolution now taken amongst them for an expedition into England is agreeable to their obligation by the late treaty, and to the wishes and desires of this kingdom, expressed by the two Houses of Parliament, we have thought it necessary to let your lordships know that if we had dissented from that Act it could never have been made a law; and when you have examined and considered the names of us who subscribe this letter, (who we hope are too well known to your lordships, and to both kingdoms, to be suspected to want affection to religion, or to the laws and liberties of our country, for the defence and maintenance of which we shall always hold our lives a cheap sacrifice,) and when you are informed that the earls of Arundel and Thanet, and the lords Stafford, Stanhope, Coventry, Goring, and Craven, are in the parts beyond the seas, and the earl of Chesterfield, Westmoreland, and the lord Mountague of Boughton, under restraint at London for their loyalty and duty to his majesty and the kingdom, your lordships will easily conclude how very few now make up the peers at Westminster, there being in truth not above twenty-five lords present or privy to those counsels, or, being absent, consenting or concurring with them: whereas the House of Peers consists of above one hundred, besides minors and recusant lords, neither of which keep us company in this address to your lordships. How we and the major part of the House of Commons come to be absent from thence is so notorious to all the world that we believe your lordships cannot be strangers to it; how, several times during our sitting there, multitudes of the meanest sort [of[1]] people, with weapons not agreeing with their condition or custom, in a manner very contrary and destructive to the privilege of Parliament, filled up the way between both Houses, offering injuries both by words and actions too, and laying violent hands upon several members, crying out many hours together against the established laws in a most tumultuous and menacing way; how no remedy would be submitted to for preventing those tumults; after which, and other unlawful and unparliamentary actions, many things

[1] ['or,' MS.]

1643 were continued in Westminster-hall for the despatch of justice, (as they called it,) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the

rejected and settled upon solemn debate in the House of Peers were again, after many threats and menaces, resumed, altered, and determined, contrary to the custom and laws of parliaments; and so, many of us withdrew ourselves from thence, where we could not sit, speak, and vote with honour, freedom, and safety, and are now kept from thence for our duty and loyalty to our sovereign. And we must therefore protest against any invitation which hath been made to our brethren of Scotland to enter this kingdom with an army, the same being as much against their desires as against the duty of the Lords and Commons of England. And we do conjure your lordships, by our common allegiance and subjection under our gracious sovereign, by the amity and affection between the two nations, by the treaty of Pacification, which by any such act is absolutely dissolved, and by all obligations both divine and human which can preserve peace upon earth, to use your uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of so much Christian blood, and the confusion and desolation which must follow the unjust invasion of this kingdom, which we, and we are confident all true Englishmen, must interpret as a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon us. And therefore your lordships may be assured we shall not so far forget our own interests, and the honour of our nation, as not to expose our lives and fortunes in the just and necessary defence of the kingdom. But if your lordships in truth have any doubts or apprehensions that there now is, or hereafter may be, a purpose to infringe your laws or liberties from any attempt of this kingdom, we do engage our honour to your lordships to be ourselves most religious observers of the Act of Pacification; and if the breach and violation do not first begin within that kingdom, we are most confident you shall never have cause to complain of this. And having thus far expressed ourselves to your lordships, we hope to receive such an answer from you as may be a means to preserve a right understanding between the two nations, and lay an obligation upon us to continue

'"Your lordships' most affectionate humble servants,

'"Ed. Littleton, C. S.	E. Peterburgh.	L. Deincourt.
L. Cottington.	E. Kingston.	L. Lovelace.
D. Richmond.	E. Newport.	L. Poulet.
M. Hertford.	E. Portland.	L. Mohun.
M. Newcastle.	E. Carbery.	L. Dunsmore.
E. Huntingdon.	V. Conway.	L. Seymour.
E. Bathon.	V. Fauconbridge.	L. Herbert.
E. Southampton.	V. Wilmot.	L. Cobham.
E. Dorset.	V. Savile.	L. Capell.
E. Northampton.	L. Mowbray and Maltravers.	L. Percy.
E. Devonshire.		L. Leigh.
E. Bristol.	L. Darcy and Coniers.	L. Hatton.
E. Berkshire.	L. Wentworth.	L. Hopton.
E. Cleveland.	L. Cromwell.	L. Jermyn.
E. Marlburgh.	L. Rich.	L. Loughborough.
E. Rivers.	L. Paget.	L. Byron.
E. Lin[d]sey.	L. Digby.	L. Withrington."'
E. Dover.	L. Howard of Charleton.	

King's proclamation. The money, which the particular persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied with in the 1643

7. 'Whether this clear demonstration would make any impression upon the Scotch nation and counsels or no, the King and all men believed it would have a very useful influence upon the affections and hearts of the people of England, and that they would awake out of those dreams and jealousies which had perplexed their understandings, and, in the behalf of the honour and interest of their country, be united against the invasion of a foreign power; and in this respect many were of opinion, who too abstractly considered rather what should be than what was like to be, that not only the fame of, but the real marching of, the Scots would much impair the strength and reputation of the Parliament. To inculcate this sense throughout the kingdom, the King very prudently resolved of another useful expedient. Though all inquisitive and discerning men well understood the number and the quality of those few who remained in both Houses of Parliament at Westminster, by the reverence to whose authority all the contest was made and supported against the King, yet the common people generally believed they had the full numbers, and that there was unity and consent in that body to defend the just liberties and rights of the public; at least the number and condition of those who were absent, or their affections, were not evident enough to be taken notice of; therefore the King thought it worthy of his care to draw all those who were the true and regular members of Parliament together to Oxford, and to make use of their advice and counsel, since he could neither receive it, nor they give it, in the place whither they were at first summoned by his writ; presuming that when the kingdom should know that four parts of five of the House of Peers, and above a major part of the House of Commons, were at Oxford with the King, they would not look upon those at Westminster as the true and full representative body of the whole; and to that purpose he issued out his royal proclamation, declaring the preparations made in Scotland to enter and invade the kingdom, and that they had already actually invaded it, by possessing themselves by force of arms of his town of Berwick, (for thither they sent a garrison as soon as the Covenant was agreed,) upon pretence that they were invited thereunto by the desires of both Houses of Parliament; "the which, as he doubted not all his good subjects of the kingdom would look upon as the most insolent act of ingratitude and disloyalty, and to the apparent breach of the late Act of Pacification so solemnly made between the kingdoms, and was indeed no other than a design of conquest, and to impose new laws upon this nation, they not so much as pretending the least provocation or violation from this kingdom, so his majesty was most assured that the major part of both Houses of Parliament did from their souls abhor the least thought of introducing that foreign power, to increase and make desperate the miseries of their unhappy country. And therefore, that it might appear to all the world how far the major part of both Houses was from such actions of treason and disloyalty, and how grossly those few members remaining at Westminster had and did impose upon his people, his majesty required such of the members of both Houses, as well those who had been by the faction of the malignant party expelled for performing their Nov. 29.

1643 beginning of the war, [was] now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with London had shut the door against further

duty to his majesty, and into whose rooms no persons had been since chosen by their country, as the rest who had been driven thence, and all those who, being conscious of their want of freedom, should be now willing to withdraw from that rebellious city, to assemble themselves together at Oxford on Monday the two and twentieth day of January; and all his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as lay in his majesty, to restore it to its former peace and security, from those whom they had trusted. And for the better encouragement of those members of either House to resort to him, who might be justly conscious to themselves of having incurred his displeasure by submitting to or concurring in unlawful actions, and that all the world might see how willing and desirous he was to forget the injuries and indignities offered to his majesty, and, by an union of English hearts, to prevent the lasting miseries which this foreign invasion must bring upon the kingdom, his majesty offered a free and general pardon to all the members of either House who should at or before the said twenty-second day of January appear at Oxford, and desire the same, without exceptions; which, considering the manifest treasons committed against his majesty, and the condition he was now in, improved, by God's wonderful blessing, to a better degree than he had enjoyed at any time since these distractions, was the greatest instance of princely and fatherly care of his people that could be expressed, and which malice itself could not suggest to proceed from any other ground. And therefore," he said, "he hoped and was confident that all such who, upon this his gracious invitation, would not return to their duty and allegiance, should be no more thought promoters of the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom, (which this way might be, no doubt, settled and secured,) but persons engaged from the beginning, out of their own pride, malice, and ambition, to bring confusion and desolation upon their country; and to that purpose, having long since contrived the design, had invited and joined with a foreign nation to ruin and extinguish their own."

'What the good fruit was, which was produced by this counsel and proclamation, will be shortly set forth.

8. 'There was about the same time another act of Council, which (how impertinent soever it may seem to some men to be remembered) was in itself of great weight, and very gravely deliberated. It seemed very repugnant to the rules of policy, that, when all overtures of peace were rejected, and all intercourse from the city of London inhibited and interdicted to his majesty's quarters, there should be any permission that that city should be supplied by the commodities and stock of the counties within the King's obedience, which kept up the trade of that rebellious place, and gave it the pride to contest almost with the whole kingdom: and therefore it was propounded, that his majesty would inhibit and forbid by his proclamation all manner of trade with London throughout his quarters; and that all goods and merchandise going to or from that place, without the King's express license, should be seized on, and forfeited to his own use. The

supply; so that all men were weary of the condition they were 1643
in, and expressed it, as weary men used to do, in murmurs and

matter was not lightly weighed and concluded, but several days debated before the lords of the Council, there being diversity of opinion between many persons of great experience and understanding in the mystery and course of trade, and in the constitution of the counties whence trade was especially driven with London. Many were of opinion that his majesty should by no means prohibit it or interrupt it; that the continuance and improvement of it would be of great profit and advantage to the King; besides, that the restraint would appear a very ungracious thing to the people, whereas now that whole odium lay upon the Parliament; that those who were fled from London, out of their duty and loyalty, had no other means to draw a subsistence and livelihood to them out of the fortunes they had left there but by commodities sent from London into the King's quarters, for which they received money there, and that by that means many well affected persons still remaining there sometimes sent supplies to his majesty, which otherwise they would not be able to do; that it supplied the King's quarters with money, whereby the people were enabled to pay their contributions, which otherwise they could not do; and if trade were restrained, the manufactures would immediately be determined, and thereupon the people in all parts, for want of work, would be in danger to starve, the consequence of which extremity might produce a general insurrection, which would be very perilous to the King; at best, that the manufactures would be transported into foreign parts, a mischieve not to be repaired again by peace itself. On the other side it was pressed with much vehemence, that such an inhibition of trade was absolutely necessary; that the King could lose nothing by it, and would receive notable benefit; that the rebellion was continued, as it had been raised, by the wealth and submission only of the city of London, and any thing that could impair that wealth would remove that submission; that they alone hitherto felt not the miseries of the war, having the same ease and the same plenty which they had formerly enjoyed, which reconciled them and united them more to the Parliament than any inclination of their affections; whereas, if the trade from thence into foreign parts was suppressed, or to a degree diminished, by not suffering them to receive those commodities from the counties by which they carried on their trade, they would immediately find themselves impoverished; and the rich men giving over, the poor would not be able to live, and so their patience would quickly leave them, and would easily discover the way to their redemption. In the mean time the manufactures would receive no discouragement, nor the counties feel any want of money; for the same trade which was by those commodities carried to London, should be driven in those parts, under the King's obedience, of Bristol, Waymoth, Exciter, Dartmoth, and the good harbours of Cornwall, whither as well those well affected merchants who were driven from London as strangers would resort, whereby they would be replenished with money, and all other commodities of what kind soever; for an evidence whereof many merchants present, of great estates and reputation, undertook before the King

1643 complaints. And now all the hope was in the convention of the members of Parliament; which, being a new thing, adminis-

that they would within a month take off all the manufacture of wool which should be brought to any of the western ports, whither the clothiers might as easily send them as to London. By this means shipping would much increase, and seamen be maintained in the King's quarters, from whence extraordinary benefit would accrue to his service. The reasons were very weighty upon both sides; and though these later seemed the stronger, yet it was plain that they were principally grounded upon supposition. For if it should fall out that there was not stock enough to take off the commodities in the King's quarters, as men reasonably conceived there would not be, at least not in time, the mischieves which were offered in the first debate would be in view. But there were two things which prevailed over the King's judgment, and truly reconciled most differences in opinion. The first, a matter of fact: Some clothiers of Reading complained that they had received invitations from their old customers in London to continue their trade thither, assuring them they should receive the same fair correspondence they had formerly; upon which, with the King's leave, they had sent great quantities of cloth thither, which, in respect of the situation of that town, and the benefit of the river, they could not conveniently send to any other place. The effect was, they sold their cloths at Leaden Hall as they used, and at good prices; the which was no sooner done, but the money due to all such of whose affections to the King's service they had any intimation was seized, as the estates of delinquents and malignants, for the use of the Parliament, and they only who were favoured by them, as inclined to their party, were suffered to receive the proceed of their commodities. Upon which that town desired other provision might be made to take off their cloths, and that there might be no trade to London. The other consideration was, that if any inconvenience should be hereafter discovered by the restraint, it might be removed by the giving licences to trade, by which his majesty might be able to settle and regulate trade in such a manner that it might be profitable to him, and that he might receive such duties upon it as might be some supply to him, as it paid excise and customs at London, whereby the merchants there should not be able to undersell those who traded in the west, who for their transportation and insurance were at
July 17 a much greater charge than the other. Upon these reasons the King
and published his express and absolute pleasure against all trade with London,
Oct. 17. which, if it had been as well executed as it was deliberated, would without question have proved of singular benefit and advantage to his affairs; but the disorder of the soldier was such, and so great a contempt of all acts of state, that it had not the effect designed, and in the end produced no other advantage than great gains to some particular governors, who, having garrisons near great roads, received large toll for their safe conducts and protection, and sometimes very great seizures of such goods as thought to have escaped their notice, all which was converted to their own emolument.

9. 'These were the civil preparations and conclusions of council on both sides. In the mean time, both the King's army and the earl of Essex

tered some expectation, (which suspended the present indisposi- 1643
tion,) what they, who came from all quarters of the kingdom, would do.

370 [1]. According to the King's proclamation, the members of

were contented to refresh themselves in their winter quarters, without any notable engagement, both preparing the best they could for the spring, and to be early ready for the field; yet the winter passed not without action.'

[1] [The *Life* gives, at p. 256, the following account of the meeting of the Parliament at Oxford :—

1. 'The King received them very graciously and formally in Christ Church hall, made them a speech, and told them he would be glad to receive any advice from them for the good of the kingdom, and restoring it to peace; and wished them to consult together in those rooms which he had caused to be provided for them to sit in in the Schools; whither both the Peers and the Commons presently went, and the Commons chose sergeant Euers to be their Speaker, one of the King's sergeants at law, and in all respects superior to him who kept the chair at Westminster. There were very near three hundred of the House of Commons appeared, when there were not above one hundred remained at Westminster, and very seldom so many; and of the whole House of Peers there were seldom above ten or a dozen at Westminster, when there were above threescore at Oxford.

2. 'There were amongst the Commons only two privy-councillors, the Master of the Rolls (sir John Culpeper) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose business it was to dispose the rest to think of the best expedient to provide present money, without which the army would not be able to march in the spring, which began to draw on, and to prevent the running into any excesses of discourse, which so great assemblies can very hardly be kept from; and till somewhat was begun amongst the Commons, the Peers had little to do. Though they all seemed very sensible of the straits the King was in, and resolved to do all that should be in their power to mend it, yet they had a great desire to try what could be done towards peace, that what they did else in order to carrying on the war might find the more credit with the people; and nobody endeavoured to divert them from prosecuting their desire. So that it was quickly agreed that they should prosecute both designs, to get money and to get peace, together; at least that one might be the business of one day, and the other of the next. They were long considering in what method to put their desires of peace; they knew not how to move the King to make any offer; nor would that way have satisfied them, except they might stand in such a place with his majesty that the motion might appear to proceed from them, and that they might be engaged in the treaty; which the King would have been hardly induced to consent [to]. It was wished that the two Houses at Oxford could dispose those at Westminster that they might concur together to be suitors to the King, that they might enter upon a treaty and frame some propositions to be offered to him. But that quickly appeared unpracticable; for they above had already, by an ordinance, (as

1644 both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of conscience and duty from those at Westminster, appeared at Oxford at the Jan. 22. day appointed, (except such who could not reasonably be absent from their commands in the counties where the armies were,) who were graciously and solemnly welcomed by his majesty, with that ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his majesty told them that

'He had called them to be witnesses of his actions and privy to his intentions; and that he desired to receive any advice from them which they thought would be suitable to the miserable and distracted condition of the kingdom; in presenting whereof, they should use all that parliamentary freedom which would be due to them if they were with him at Westminster, and which with all their other privileges they should enjoy at Oxford, though they could not in the other place;' with many expressions of grace towards them and confidence in them.

371. As soon as they had withdrawn to those places which were assigned to their councils, both Lords and Commons entered upon the deliberation of all possible expedients in order

they termed it,) declared against that meeting of the members at Oxford with many terms of reproach and menaces; so that it was evident enough that no correspondence or commerce could possibly grow between them. In the end, it was proposed and agreed that a letter should be prepared and signed by every member present of the Peers and of the Commons, and directed to the earl of Essex, informing him of their meeting at Oxford upon his majesty's command; that they found the King very desirous of a just and an honourable peace, that the kingdom might be restored to happiness; and that they therefore desired him to use his credit and interest with the Parliament, that they might be disposed to the same inclinations, upon which a treaty might be entered upon; with those expressions as carried a confidence of his concurrence with them. When this letter was framed, they delivered it at a conference to the Lords, and desired their concurrence, and that they would move the King that the general might send this letter, when it was signed, with a trumpet to the earl of Essex, according to the custom observed between them. The Lords concurred, the King was con- Jan. 29. tent, the letter was signed as aforesaid, and sent by the general with a trumpet to the earl of Essex; who sent the general word, that he had sent it to the Parliament, who laid it aside with scorn, and made no answer to it, as was foreseen, at least by discerning men: whereupon they at Oxford published a declaration to the people, with sharpness against those at Westminster, as not only the beginners of the war, but those who rejected all overtures of peace and accommodation.']

to peace; most men believing (according to the reason and con- 1644
science of their own hearts) that the difficulty was greater to dispose those at London to the honesty and confidence of a treaty, than in that treaty to agree on such conclusions which might be satisfactory to all parties; judging it impossible that men could desire to bring ruin and desolation upon their country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the King to send a gracious message and overture to the two Houses, they presently remembered and considered what his majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of reverence and duty he had received from them: that to the two last messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned answer, and that they still detained his last messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a trial for his life at a court of war: that they had prohibited any kind of address to be made to them from his majesty except through the hands of the earl of Essex their general. From thence they entered upon the disquisition how they might engage his lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them, to the which they easily believed his experience, observation, and interest would engage him. They persuaded themselves that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all overtures from his majesty towards peace, was the conscience [those at Westminster had] of their own guilt, and the jealousy that proceeded from thence that no peace could secure them whilst there was power left in his majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the King's party, which must be security for the accomplishment of it. And from the reasonableness of this assertion they entertained an assurance that the earl of Essex would as greedily embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in promoting the overture, which was all they desired: [for] that would remove those forms which, as so many

1644 rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords and Commons, the members of both Houses, resolved to write a letter to the earl of Essex, in their own names, which, with the King's con-
Jan. 27. sent, was by trumpet sent to him within four days after their meeting. The letter was in these very terms :—

372. 'My lord,

'His majesty having, by his proclamation of the 22nd of December, (upon the occasion of the invasion threatened, and in part begun, by some of his subjects of Scotland,) summoned all the members of both Houses of Parliament to attend him here at Oxford, we whose names are underwritten are here met and assembled, in obedience to those his majesty's commands. His majesty was pleased to invite us, in the said proclamation, by these gracious expressions, "that his subjects should see how willing he was to receive advice for the preservation of the religion, laws, and safety of the kingdom, and, as far as in him lay, to restore it to its former peace and security (his chief and only end) from those whom they had trusted; though he could not receive it in the place where he appointed." This most gracious invitation hath not only been made good unto us, but seconded and heightened by such unquestionable demonstrations of the deep and princely sense which possesses his royal heart of the miseries and calamities of his poor subjects in this unnatural war, and of his most entire and passionate affections to redeem them from that sad and deplorable condition, by all ways possible, consistent either with his honour or with the future safety of the kingdom, that, as it were impiety to question the sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and faithfulness in us, (his majesty having vouchsafed to declare that he did call us to be witnesses of his actions and privy to his intentions,) should we not testify, and witness to all the world, the assurance we have of the piety and sincerity of both. We being most entirely satisfied of this truth, we cannot but confess that, amidst our highest afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense of the present miseries and desolations of our country, and those farther dangers threatened from Scotland, we are at length erected to some cheerful and comfortable thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God's mercy, if his justice have not determined this nation, for its sins, to total ruin and desolation) hope to be happy instruments of our country's redemption from the miseries of war, and restitution to the blessing of peace.

373. 'And we being desirous to believe your lordship, (however engaged,) a person likely to be sensibly touched with these considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed work, which is only capable to repair all our misfortunes, and to buoy up the kingdom from ruin; that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations that have power upon honour, conscience, or public piety, that, laying to heart, as we do, the inward bleeding condition of your country, and the outward more menacing destruction by a foreign nation, upon the very point of invading it, you will co-operate with us to its preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with, those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest desire of ours; That,

they joining with us in a right sense of the past, present, and more threat- 1644
ening, calamities of this deplorable kingdom, some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on, to treat of such a peace as may yet redeem it from the brink of desolation.

374. 'This address we should not have made, but that his majesty's summons, by which we are met, most graciously proclaiming pardon to all without exception, is evidence enough that his mercy and clemency can transcend all former provocations; and that he hath not only made us witnesses of his princely intentions, but honoured us also with the name of being security for them. God Almighty direct your lordship, and those to whom you shall present these our most real desires, in such a course as may produce that happy peace, and settlement of the present distractions, which is so heartily desired and prayed for by us, and which may make us

'Your &c.'

'*From Oxford* [27[1]] *January*, 1643.'

375. This letter was subscribed by his highness the Prince, the duke of York, and three and forty dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons of the House of Peers, and one hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons; there being such expedition used in the despatch that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater subscription, albeit it was known that many lords and commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were at that time near twenty peers absent with his majesty's leave, and employed in his affairs and armies in the kingdom, and ten at the same time in the parts beyond the seas. So that the numbers at London were very thin; for there were not above two and twenty peers who either sat in the Parliament or were engaged in their party, (that is to say, the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Rutland, Salisbury, Suffolk, Warwick, Manchester, Mougrave, Denbigh, Stamford, Bullingbrooke, the lords Say, Dacres, Wharton, Grey of Werke, Willoughby of Parham, Howard of Escrigg, Rochfort, and Roberts,) who were present, or had proxies there.

376. The trumpeter found the earl of Essex at his house in London; where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the committee of both Houses, that committee which they called the committee of safety for the two kingdoms, (the Scots' commissioners being a part of it,) resorted to

[1] ['29,' MS.]

1644 Jan. 30 him for his advice: and in the end he returned with this short letter to the earl of Forth, the king's general:

377. 'My lord,

'I received this day a letter of the twenty-ninth of this instant from your lordship, and a parchment subscribed by the Prince, duke of York, and divers other lords and gentlemen; but it neither having address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them. My lord, the maintenance of the Parliament of England, and of the privileges thereof, is that for which we are all resolved to spend our blood; as being the foundation whereupon all our laws and liberties are built. I send your lordship herewith a National Covenant, solemnly entered into by both the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and a Declaration passed by them both together, with another Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland. I rest

'Your lordship's &c.'

378. What the Covenant was, (being the same particularly set down before,) I need not mention; and the Declarations are as public, and would be thought too large to be in this place inserted, to the interruption of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be amiss to make a short extract of some particular heads or conclusions of them; that the world may see what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and that they were as bold with God as with the King.

379. That Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland alone, was to justify their present expedition into England; in which they said, 'It was most necessary that every one, against all doubting, should be persuaded in his mind of the lawfulness of his undertaking, and of the goodness of the cause maintained by him; which,' they said, 'was no other, than the good of religion in England, and the deliverance of their brethren out of the depths of affliction, the preservation of their own religion, and of themselves from the extremity of misery, and the safety of their native King and his kingdoms from destruction and desolation. Any one of which,' they said, 'by all law divine and human, was too just cause of taking of arms; how much more, when all of them [were[2]] joined in one?' And therefore they wished any man who did withdraw, and hide

[1] [Approved by the Lords on 1 Feb. *Journals*, VI. 404.]
[2] ['was,' MS.]

himself in such a debate and controversy, to 'consider, whether 1644
he were not a hater of his brethren, against Christian and common charity; a hater of himself and his posterity, against the law and light of nature; a hater of the King and his kingdoms, against loyalty and common duty; and a hater of God, against all religion and peace.'

380. They said, 'the question was not, nor needed they dispute, whether they might propagate their religion by arms; but whether according to their power they ought to assist their brethren in England, who were calling for their help, and were shedding their blood in defence of that power without which religion could be neither defended nor reformed, nor unity of religion with them and other reformed kirks be attained.' So that, they said, 'the question was no sooner rightly stated but it was as soon resolved;' and concluded 'that the Lord would save them from the curse of Meroz, *who came not to help the Lord against the mighty*.' They said, 'the question could not be, as their enemies would make it, whether they should enter into England and lift arms against their own King, who had promised and done as much as might secure them in their own religion and liberties; but, whether against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party their adherents, prevailing in England and Ireland, they were not bound to provide for their own preservation. That they might well have known, from their continual experience ever since the time of their first reformation, especially after the two kingdoms were united under one head and monarch, and from the principles of their own declarations in the time of their late troubles and dangers, that they could not long, like Goshen, enjoy their light if darkness should cover the face of other reformed kirks: that Judah could not long continue in liberty if Israel were led away in captivity; and that the condition of the one kirk and kingdom, whether in religion or peace, must be common to both.'

381. They said, 'the question was not, whether they should presume to be arbitrators in the matter now debated by fire and sword, betwixt his majesty and the Houses of Parliament, which might seem to be foreign and extrinsecal to that nation,

1644 and wherein they might be conceived to have no interest; but whether, their mediation and intercession being rejected by the one side, upon hope of victory, or, suppose, by both sides, upon confidence of their own strength and several successes, it were not their duty, it being in their power, to stop or prevent the effusion of Christian blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour to rescue their native King, his crown, and posterity, out of the middest of so many dangers, and to preserve his people and kingdom from ruin and destruction? If every private man were bound in duty to interpose himself as a reconciler and sequestrator between his neighbours, armed to their mutual destruction; if the son ought to hazard his own life for the preservation of his father and brother, at variance one against the other; should a kingdom sit still, and suffer their King and neighbouring kingdom to perish in an unnatural war? In the time of animosity and appetite of revenge, such an interposing might be an irritation; but afterwards, when the eyes of the mind, no more blood-run with passion, did discern things aright, it would be no grief or offence of heart, but matter of thanksgiving to God, and to the instruments which had kept from shedding of blood and from revenge.'

382. With this kind of divinity, and this kind of logic, to shew that they had a clear prospect of whatsoever could be said against them, they resolved to invade their neighbour nation, and to interpose themselves as reconcilers, by joining, against their native and natural King, with his rebellious subjects, in all the acts of animosity and blood which have been ever practised in the most raging and furious civil war.

383. The other Declaration, mentioned in the earl's letter,
Jan. 30. was a declaration passed and published in the name of both kingdoms, England and Scotland, after their marriage by their new League and Covenant, and about the very time that this overture for peace came from Oxford. They were now both equally inspired with the Scotch dialect and spirit; talked how 'clearly the light of the gospel shined amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own counsels and strength, but their confidence was in God Almighty, the Lord of Hosts,

who would not leave nor forsake his people. It was his own truth and cause, which they maintained against the heresy, superstition, and tyranny of Antichrist: the glory of his own name, the exaltation of the kingdom of his Son, and the preservation of his Church, was their aim, and the end which they had before their eyes. It was his covenant which they had solemnly in both nations sworn and subscribed; which he would not have put in their hearts to do if he had been minded to destroy them. Upon these and the like grounds and considerations, being confident that this war, wherein both nations were so firmly united and deeply engaged, was of God, they resolve, with courage and constancy to the end, to do their part; and the Lord, who had stirred up their spirits, displayed his banner before them, and given the alarum, do that which seemeth him good. 1644

384. They gave 'now public warning to all men to rest no longer upon their neutrality, or to please themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext of indifferency; but that they address themselves speedily to take the Covenant, and join with all their power in the defence of this cause against the common enemy, and by their zeal and forwardness hereafter to make up what had been wanting through their lukewarmness; this they would find to be their greatest wisdom and safety; otherwise they did declare them to be public enemies to their religion and country, and that they were to be censured and punished as professed adversaries and malignants.'

385. Then they proclaimed a pardon to all those who would before such a day[1] desert the King, and adhere to them and take the Covenant. And concluded, that 'they made not that declaration from any presumption or vain glorying in the strength of their armies and forces, but from the sense of their duty which was required, and expected from the high places and public relations wherein they stood, and from the assurance they had of the assistance of God, by whose providence the trust and safety of those kingdoms was put into their hands at this time; having, after long and grave consultation, resolved

[1] [March 1.]

1644 and decreed never to lay down arms till truth and peace, by the blessing of God, be settled in this island upon a firm foundation for the present and future generations; which,' they said, 'should be esteemed of them an abundant reward of all that they could do or suffer in that cause.'

386. These were the Declarations which the earl of Essex, together with the Covenant, sent as an answer to that letter from the Prince of Wales and those lords and gentlemen which might have been the foundation of an honest and an honourable peace to all the King's dominions. And I cannot but observe, that after this time that the earl declined this opportunity of declaring himself, he never did gallant or prosperous act in his life; but whereas before he had throughout the course of his command, how unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal courage and conduct, and at this time was adorned with the testimony of friends and enemies of a right good general upon the conclusion of the business of Gloster, he never after his taking the Covenant and writing this letter did one brave thing, but proved unfortunate in all he went about, even to his death; of which we shall say more in its place.

387. And we the rather extracted these short clauses of those two Declarations, that posterity may observe the divine hand of Almighty God upon the people of these miserable kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent form and practice of religion which their ancestors and themselves had observed and enjoyed, with a greater measure of happiness than almost any nation lived under so long a time, and after they had cancelled and thrown off those admirable and incomparable laws of government, which was compounded of so much exact reason that all possible mischieves were foreseen and provided against, they should be now captivated by a profane and presumptuous entitling themselves to God's favour, and using his holy name in that manner that all sober Christians stand scandaled and amazed at, and be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate as can only impose upon men unnurtured, and unacquainted with any knowledge or science.

388. There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this trumpet; and yet the answer being so much out of that popular road of saying something plausibly to the people, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the world might see that they did in plain English refuse to admit of any peace. So the carl of Forth was again advised to write to the other general for a safe conduct for two gentlemen then named [1], against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from Westminster, to be sent by his majesty concerning a treaty of peace. To this the earl of Essex returned answer, that 'whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best endeavours; and when a safe conduct should be desired for those gentlemen, mentioned in his letter, from his majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his lordship would, with all cheerfulness, shew his willingness to further any way that might produce that happiness which all honest men prayed for, which is, a true understanding between his majesty and his faithful and only council, the Parliament.' 1644 Feb. 19.

389. This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a letter from his majesty to the Houses of Parliament, (together with some intimations in letters from London, which at these seasons never wanted,) persuaded many that the earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the Houses with the overture; and if it were once within the walls, there were so many well affected to peace that the proposition would not be rejected, though no particular person or combination of men had the courage of themselves to propose it. And therefore, at the same time making all possible preparations for the field as the scene where the differences were like to be decided, his majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded it would be rejected, to send this ensuing message, which was enclosed to the earl of Essex to be by him managed:— March 3.

390. 'Out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied desires to apply all remedies which, by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it from an

[1] [Richard Fanshaw and Thomas Offley.]

1644 utter ruin; by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, we do propound and desire, That a convenient number of fit persons may be appointed and authorized by you, to meet, with all convenient speed, at such place as you shall nominate, with an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint and authorize, to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of this our kingdom, and to procure a happy peace: and particularly, how all the members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of[1] Parliament, there to treat, consult, and agree, upon such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the true reformed Protestant religion, with due consideration to all just and reasonable ease of tender consciences; to the settling and maintaining of our just rights and privileges, of the rights and privileges of Parliament, the laws of the land, the liberty and property of the subject, and all other expedients that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and lasting peace both in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt us and our people; wherein no endeavours or concurrency of ours shall be wanting. And God direct your hearts in the ways of peace.

'*Given at our court at Oxford, 3d March* 1643.'

391. This message, being signed by his majesty, was superscribed 'To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster;' which, though it was a style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at Oxford took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three days' debate in the Houses, and with the Scots' commissioners, without whose concurrence nothing was
March 9. transacted, this answer was returned to his majesty; which put a period to all men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those councils to any possible and honest accommodation:—

392. 'May it please your majesty:

'We, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, taking into our consideration a letter sent from your majesty, dated the 3d of March instant, and directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster, (which, by the contents of a letter from the earl of Forth unto the lord general the earl of Essex, we conceive was intended to ourselves,) have resolved, with the concurrent advice and consent of the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, to represent to your majesty, in all humility and plainness, as followeth:

'That as we have used all means for a just and a safe peace, so will we never be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring thereof. But when we consider the expressions in that letter of your majesty's, we have more sad and despairing thoughts of attaining the same than ever, because thereby

[1] ['free,' MS.]

those persons now assembled at Oxford, who, contrary to their duty, have deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal condition with it. And this present Parliament, convened according to the known and fundamental laws of the kingdom, (the continuance whereof is established by a law consented unto by your majesty,) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the scope and intention of that letter being, to make provision how all the members (as is pretended) of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of Parliament; whereof no other conclusion can be made but that this present Parliament is not a full nor free convention; and that to make it a full and free convention of Parliament, the presence of those is necessary, who, notwithstanding that they have deserted that great trust and do levy war against the Parliament, are pretended to be members of the two Houses of Parliament. 1644

393. 'And hereupon we think ourselves bound to let your majesty know, that, seeing the continuance of this Parliament is settled by a law, which (as all other laws of your kingdom) your majesty hath sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our allegiance to your majesty, (these obligations being reciprocal,) we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend and preserve the just rights and full power of this Parliament; and do beseech your majesty to be assured, that your majesty's royal and hearty concurrence with us herein will be the most effectual and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting peace in all your majesty's dominions, and of begetting a perfect understanding between your majesty and your people: without which your majesty's most earnest professions, and our most real intentions, concerning the same, must necessarily be frustrated. And in case your majesty's three kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this sad and bleeding condition, tending, by the continuance of this unnatural war, to their ruin, your majesty cannot be the least nor the last sufferer. God in his goodness incline your royal breast, out of pity and compassion to those deep sufferings of your innocent people, to put a speedy and happy issue to these desperate evils, by the joint advice of both your kingdoms, now happily united in this cause by their late solemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove the surest remedy, so is it the earnest prayer of your majesty's loyal subjects, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England.

Grey of Warke,
Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament *pro tempore:*
William Lenthall,
Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament.

'Westminster, the 9 of March, 1643.'

394[1]. The hope of peace by this kind of interposition did not in any degree make the counsels remiss for providing of money to supply the army: upon which they had more hope than from a treaty. But the expedients for money were not easily thought upon. Though there was a considerable part of the kingdom

[1] [The text for §§ 394–5 is from the *Life*, pp. 257–8.]

1644 within the King's quarters, the inhabitants were frequently robbed and plundered by the incursions of the enemy, and not very well secured against the royal troops, who began to practise all the license of war. The nobility and gentry who were not officers of the army lived for the most part in Oxford, and all that they could draw from their estates was but enough for their own subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the people in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the common people might be preserved from burdens; and they were as careful not to expose the King's honour or name to affronts and refusals, but were willing that the envy and the clamour, if there should be any, should fall upon themselves.

395. They appointed all the members of the Commons to bring in the names of all the gentlemen of estate, and other persons who were reputed to be rich, within their several precincts, and what sum of money every body might be well able to supply the King with, in this exigent of the public state. And then a form of a letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them for such a sum; the letter to be subscribed by the two Speakers of the Houses, to the end that the people might know that it was by the advice of the members of Parliament assembled there; which was as much the advice of Parliament as could be delivered at that time in the kingdom. When the
Feb. 14. way and method of this was approved by the Lords, and his majesty likewise consented to it, they began, the better to encourage others, with themselves; and caused letters to be signed and delivered to the several members of both Houses for such sums as they were well disposed to furnish, which were to that proportion as gave good encouragement to others; and the like letters to all persons of condition who were in the town. And by this means there was a sum raised in ready money and credit that did supply many necessary occasions, near the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next *campania;* which, the spring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament having raised vast sums of money, and being like to

bring many armies into the field. All who were to furnish money upon those letters had liberty to bring or send it in plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having called the officers and workmen of his Mint to Oxford, who coined such plate as was brought in. His majesty likewise made a grant of some forests, parks, and other lands, to certain persons in trust, for the securing of such money as should be borrowed, or those persons who should be bound for the payment of such money; and by this means likewise many considerable sums of money were procured, and cloth and shoes and shirts were provided for the army. 1644

396. The two Houses at Westminster, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the Parliament, had at this time by an ordinance, that is, an order of both Houses, laid an imposition, which they called an *excise*, upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the war. And this was the first time that the name of payment of excise was ever heard of or practised in England; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the people: and this pattern being then printed and published at London, was thought by the members at Oxford as a good expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed and regulated by commissioners, in the same method it was done at London. And in Oxford, Bristol, and other garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply, for the provision of arms and ammunition, which for the most part it was assigned to; both sides making ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war, and then laid down and utterly abolished; which few wise men believed it would ever be. 1643 July 22. 1644 April 18.

397[1]. The high and insolent proceedings at Westminster made no impression at Oxford towards the shaking the allegiance and courage of those whom his majesty had called to advise him. But when they found the temper of the other so much above

[1] [The text is here resumed from the *Hist.*, p. 525.]

1644 belief averse to peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who should continue true Englishmen and subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their resolutions, that the people might see the issue they were at; and therefore they
March 19. published a Declaration of the grounds and motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at Westminster; in which they mentioned all the indirect passages and the acts of violence by which they had been driven thence, and the obligations upon them in conscience and law to adhere to his majesty, and the misery which the other party had already brought upon the kingdom, and the desolation which must inevitably follow those conclusions: and with a greater unanimity and consent than was ever known in so great a council, where there were so many persons of honour, and judges and others learned in the law, (amongst whom there was scarce one dissenting voice,) they declared,

398. 1. 'That all such subjects of Scotland as had consented to the
Jan. 26. Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the kingdom of Scotland concerning the present expedition into England, had thereby denounced war against the kingdom of England, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. 'That all his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales are, both by their allegiance and the Act of Pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of Scotland as had or should enter upon any part of his majesty's realm and dominions, as traitors and enemies to the State; and that whosoever should abet, aid, or assist, the Scots in their invasion should be deemed as traitors and enemies to the State.

3. 'That the Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster that had
March 12. given their votes or consent to the raising of forces under the command of the earl of Essex, or had been abetting, aiding, or assisting thereunto, had levied and raised war against the King, and were therein guilty of high treason.

4. 'That those Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster that had given their votes and consents for the making and using a new Great Seal, had thereby counterfeited the King's Great Seal, and therein committed high treason.

5. 'That the Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster who had given their consents to the present coming in of the Scots in a warlike manner, had therein committed high treason: and that in these three last crimes they had broken the trust reposed in them by their country, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the King and kingdom.'

399. [Over and above these sharp and high conclusions, in a diameter contrary to all the proceedings of Parliament, they

entered upon a way of raising a present sum of one hundred thousand pounds for the putting his majesty's armies into an equipage to take the field early in the spring;][1] so that the engagements seemed fuller of animosity on both sides than ever; and the King exceedingly strengthened by the Lords and Commons having more positively and concernedly wedded his cause than they were before understood to have done; and in truth, in the civil counsels nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable advancement. 1644

400. It had been very happy for the King if the winter had been spent only in those counsels which might have provided money, and facilitated the making his army ready to take the field in the spring, when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it, and to be in great distress if it should not be then in a condition to march: but the invasion which the Scots made in the depth of winter, and the courage the enemy took from thence, deprived his majesty even of any rest in that season. Upon the Scots' unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent frost and snow, hoping to reach Newcastle before it could be fortified, and persuading their common soldiers that it would be delivered to them as soon as required, thither the vigilant sir Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming; and the marquis of Newcastle with his army, upon the fame of their invasion, marched thither, with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the English rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the forces for the guard of that county, to colonel John Bellasis, son to the lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the country, and of exemplar industry and courage. But by this means, and the remove of the marquis with his army so far north, the enemy grew to a great strength in those parts; and not only able to disquiet Yorkshire, but, drawing a great body of horse and foot out of Darbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire, sat down before his majesty's garrison of Newark upon Trent with a full confidence to take it, and so March 2.

[1] [The lines in brackets are struck out in the MS., as they repeat what has been more fully related in § 395.]

1644 to cut off all correspondence between his majesty and the marquis of Newcastle [1]. And sir Thomas Fayrefax, in the head of a strong party from Hull, had fallen upon a quarter not far from
April 11. York, commanded by colonel John Bellasis, at Selby, and had totally defeated it, taken the cannon, and many officers prisoners, and amongst those the colonel himself. And this was the first action sir Thomas Fayrefax was taken notice for, who in a short time grew the supreme general under the Parliament. This defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehension the city of York had upon it; insomuch that the marquis of Newcastle, who till then had kept the Scots at a bay, found it necessary to draw his army, and with a part of it to make haste into York, to prevent any farther mischief [2] there; by which means the Scots were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and Fayrefax improved his reputation by a speedy and unlooked for march into Cheshire.

401 [3]. Upon the cessation in Ireland, the King made the

[1] [The *Life* is again taken up here, at p. 258; the connection of the passage with the conclusion of § 396 being made by the following cancelled lines:—

'The winter being spent in this manner at Oxford, in these deliberations and provisions, many melancholic presages appeared in the spring. Under the countenance of the Scots entering into England, the rebels grew strong in all the northern parts, the garrison of Hull tyrannized over all the adjacent parts, and sir Thomas Fayrefax,' &c.]

[2] [For the first time this spelling of the word is here used by Clarendon.]

[3] [*Hist.* resumed at p. 524; the *Life* continuing as follows, in passages of which much of the contents is given at the commencement of book viii:—

1. 'As soon as the King was assured that the Scots did resolve to invade England, he thought it necessary, if it were possible, to extinguish the fire in one of his dominions, and so considered Ireland as the most like to be capable of that blessing. Though the English had hitherto in all encounters beaten the Irish, so that they came to no action with them but they presently fled to their bogs, yet the indiscretion of the Lords Justices, who observed very willingly the most rigorous directions from the Parliament, had driven and united the whole Irish nation, and almost all the Catholics of Ireland, into rebellion, so that their numbers even covered the whole kingdom. The Parliament gave over sending supplies thither, having applied many of the men they had raised for that service with the King's approbation, and very much of the money, against the King, in carrying on the war in England, and had, upon the matter, given up the province of Ulster to the Scots, who were with a numerous army there, independent

marquis of Ormonde his Lieutenant of that kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the winter season (when the Parliaments upon the King's authority, and were grown to be more apprehended by the English than the Irish themselves. The Lords Justices and Council in Ireland had sent commissioners to the King and to the Parliament to desire supplies of men and money and arms and ammunition, without which they professed that Ireland must be lost, and fall into the hands of the Irish; and one of the commissioners, sir Hardress Waller, came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, making a large discourse of the state of Ireland, and of the jealousies and divisions amongst the Irish themselves, told him that there was no way to preserve that kingdom, since he saw evidently the King should not send supplies thither, but to make a peace there, by which he would in a short time be able to suppress the rebellion in England. And sure the man was at that time of that opinion; and it is as true, many professions had been made by the Irish of their loyalty and devotion to the King's service; and there [were[1]] many differences and jealousies grown between them. Those within the Pale, who were all of old English families planted there many ages before, and now become Irish in their language and manners, had purposes very different from those of the old Irish families, who for the most part were of Ulster, who looked upon the other as original intruders, and thought of making some foreign dependence, and never more to return to their obedience of the Crown of England. And yet Owen O'Neale, who was the general of that party, had writ to the King, and made large offers of his service; but his majesty had hearkened to no motions of that kind, nor had any man the inclination or the hardiness to make any proposition to him in favour of the Irish. But when his majesty from all hands understood the desperate or hopeless condition of that kingdom, and that the Scots were ready to enter, he resolved to try what might be done, and to put his own authority there into the hands of one he might entirely trust; and had thereupon made the marquis of Ormonde his Lieutenant of Ireland, and gave him authority to treat with the Irish; and if he could bring them to consent to a cessation of arms, and to send over persons to treat with him at Oxford for a peace, he might then draw over some of his own English troops to reinforce his army against the time of taking the field. And that design having succeeded according to his wish, and a cessation being made, the marquis of Ormonde had in the winter sent him two or three regiments of foot, and two or three troops of horse, out of Munster to Bristol, and a much greater body of foot, being between three and four thousand, from Dublin to Chester, all men brave and hardy, and well disciplined, under as good officers of all kinds as the nation had: all which arrived in season, and would have been a noble recruit to the King's army, upon which his majesty depended.

1644 1643 Nov. 13. 1643 Nov. 13.

2. 'The lord Byron, a gallant gentleman of courage, but of no long experience in the war, was then governor of Chester and Shropshire when those regiments landed; and, finding both the men as well as their officers willing to be engaged in present service, having not been used to the ease of winter quarters, he had a great desire to make some attempt with them. All

[1] ['was,' MS.]

1644 ment ships could not attend that coast) to transport those regiments of foot as might be well spared during the cessation,

Shropshire and Cheshire was at that time, upon the point, under the King's obedience, only the town of Nantwich in Cheshire, and upon the confines of the other county, was in rebellion, and garrisoned by the Parliament, the defence and strength of it consisting more in the malice of the inhabitants than in the security of their fortifications, which were not good any where, and in some parts none at all, but defended by the winter, and the deepness of the ways, through which cannon could not then march. The lord Byron had some intelligence in the town, and believed the condition of it to be so ill that he might quickly become master of it; and therefore he had written to Oxford, upon the landing of the troops from Ireland, that if the King would give him leave to use those troops, he should be able in very few days to reduce Nantwich, which would be scarce out of their way to Oxford, and would remove a pestilent obstruction in that line of communication. The King made little pause in the matter; and so in the very hard
Jan. 10. frost the lord Byron brought all his troops before it, drawing out of Chester and Shrewsbury as many of the garrisons as could be spared, with a good body of horse. He found the town not so weak as he thought it to be, and stayed longer before it than he ought to have done, until sir Thomas Fayrefax, fleshed by his victory [at[1]] Selby, and recruited with new troops out of Hull, came to its relief with a less number of men than he was to expect to encounter; but by the marching of the garrison out of the town, and by beating the body of horse, which were placed too far from the foot, and made no stand but was presently routed, the whole body of foot betook
Jan. 25. themselves to a neighbour church, which they defended only to make conditions; and so became all, officers and soldiers, prisoners of war; which, as it was a new rung to the ladder which sir Thomas Fayrefax ascended to the height of his honour, so it was the most sensible blow to the King he had yet sustained, and almost nipped all hopes of getting an army into the field to encounter the enemy, which sailed with a full gale.

3. 'The King had no better success in another winter enterprise about the same time; and the experience the Parliament had, to their cost, of carrying their army into the field too soon to the siege of Reading, the damage whereof they had scarce yet recovered, might have prepared their enemies to better husbandry of their men. It was thought counsellable, after all armies were retired into their winter quarters, to send a good party of horse and foot into Hampshire, to possess Winchester castle, and to fix another quarter in Sussex, to the end that the well affected there and in Kent might have a communication, and be ready in the spring to appear in a body on that side of London; [for] which the loyal party in Kent had some impatience, as having undergone great pressures and indignities from the Parliament. This work was committed to the lord Hopton, who had a very great reputation in all places, and deserved it, being a man of great honour, integrity, and piety, of great courage and industry, and an excellent officer in an army for any command but the supreme, to which he was not equal.

[1] ['and,' MS.]

and which could not be supported there, to Chester; from whence his majesty could easily draw them in the spring to Oxford; and were, in truth, the principal recruit upon which he depended to enable him to take the field. The lord Byron 1644

He had raised a good body of horse and foot about Bristol, and sir John Berkely brought a good addition of foot to him from Exciter; with which, and those regiments which arrived there from Ireland about the beginning of December[1], he marched to Winchester; sir William Ogle having possessed himself of that castle for the King before he came thither. And to enable him to make a farther progress to the ends aforesaid, and upon intelligence that the Parliament had sent out sir William Waller with a strong party of their army to stop the lord Hopton's march into those counties, his majesty sent two regiments of horse of his own army, under the command of the lord John Steward, another brother of the duke of Richmond, and two or three regiments of foot; with which the lord Hopton had too much desire to engage with his old friend sir William Waller, and in order thereunto advanced to Farnham, where he was, and had some light skirmishes Nov. 28. with his troops, and beat them into that castle, which was a strong place, and where sir William resolved to stay till he could receive some supply of men, which he daily expected. Whereupon the lord Hopton entered into Sussex, and very prosperously possessed himself of Arundel castle, a place Dec. 9. very strongly situated upon the sea, and in all respects so convenient to make a strong quarter that a better could not be desired; where he left a good garrison under the command of sir Edward Ford, who was a gentleman of that county, and had a regiment of horse in the army. But when he returned from thence towards Winche[ste]r, where he meant to have sat quiet till the spring, he found sir William Waller ready to attend his motion; and so in a field near Alton both bodies met, and after a sharp engagement, Dec. 13. and great loss on both sides, the lord Hopton was forced to retire in disorder to Winchester, and from thence he came to Oxford, whilst Waller marched to Arundel; and after seven or eight days, the new garrison being Dec. 19. disunited amongst themselves, and having not supplied the place with provision for a long siege, which they might have done, compelled them to render Jan. 6. to mercy: where, amongst the rest, poor Mr. Chillingworth was taken, and so barbarously used that he died within few days; but his book will live, and declare him to be a man of rare and admirable parts to all posterity. Besides many other officers of good account who were lost in that battle of Al[re]sford, the lord John Steward, though he was brought off, died of his wounds within three days, to the great grief of the King and all good men[2]. He was the second brother of this noble family who lost his life in this fatal war, and was a man of great courage, and, with a different roughness in his nature from all the rest of the race, had proposed to himself the profession of a soldier, in which he could not but have made a glorious progress if he had not been so untimely cut off.

4. 'There was another result of council at Oxford,' &c., *as in sect.* 404.]

1 [In November.]
2 [Died April 3, and was buried in Christ Church cathedral, Oxford, April 5, 1644.]

1644 then commanded Chester and that county, and was appointed to take care for the reception and accommodation of those troops; which was a right good body of foot, and, being excellent men, both officers and soldiers, carried great terror with them from the time of their landing, and quickly freed North Wales from the enemy, who at that time began to have great power there. It was towards the end of November when they landed; but being a people who had been used to little ease in Ireland, the King having given the lord Byron leave to employ them in such services as might secure that country, the season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready and desirous for action, and in the space of a month reduced by assault and storm many places of notable importance,
Dec. 4, 13[1], 28. as Hawarden Castle, Beeston Castle, Crew House, and other places of great strength; and, encountering the whole body of
Dec. 26. the rebels at Middlewich in Cheshire, broke and defeated them with a great slaughter; and drove all that survived and were at liberty into Nantwich, the single garrison they had then left in Cheshire, and into which the whole party was retired, and which had been fortified and garrisoned from the beginning of the troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected of that county and the counties adjacent. The pride of the late success, and the terror the soldiers believed their names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither; for it was about the first week in January when the lord Byron
Jan. 10. came with his army before the town, and summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's affairs, there being between that and Carlisle no one town of moment (Manchester only excepted) which declared against the King; and those two populous counties of Chester and Lancaster, if they had been united against the Parliament, would have been a strong bulwark against the Scots.

402. These considerations, and an opinion that the town would yield as soon as summoned, brought the army first

[1] [Hall's *Hist. of Nantwich*, 1883, p. 158. Dugdale (*Hist. of Troubles*, p. 187) assigns the capture of Beeston Castle to Dec. 12.]

thither; and then a passionate fancy of honour, contempt of 1644
the enemy within, and of any other who could attempt their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised batteries, and undertook a formal siege against the town. The seventeenth day of January they made a general assault upon five Jan. 18[1].
several quarters of the town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal courage opposed from within, and near three hundred men lost and spoiled in the service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger, and the assailants no less than the besieged desiring an army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the Irish (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that body of foot, though there was not an Irishman amongst them) supposing themselves superior to any that would encounter them in the field, and the horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

403. In this confidence, supply came too soon to the town, and confusion to the King's forces: for sir Thomas Fayrefax, upon his victory at Selby, out of Yorkshire brought a good body of horse to Manchester; and out of that place and the neighbour places drew near three thousand foot, with which joining with sir William Brereton, and some other scattered forces from Staffordshire and Darby, who had been routed at Middlewich, he advanced near Nantwich before he was looked for; the Irish Jan. 25.
being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had advertisement of his motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by alarums to force them to rise from the town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little river, which divided their forces, on a sudden thaw so much swelled above its banks that the lord Byron, with the greatest part of the horse, and the foot which lay on one side of the town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles before he could

[1] [Malbon's narrative in Hall's *Hist. of Nantwich*, p. 163.]

1644 join with the other; before which time the other part, being charged by sir Thomas Fayrefax on the one side and from the town on the other, were broken, and all the chief officers forced to retire to a church called Acton church, where they were caught as in a trap, and the horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow lanes and great hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, (besides all the chief and considerable officers of foot,) near fifteen hundred common soldiers, and all their cannon and carriages: the lord Byron with his horse and the rest of the foot retiring to Chester. There cannot be given a better, or it may be another, reason for this defeat, besides the providence of God, (which was the effect of the other,) than the extreme contempt and disdain this body had of the enemy, and the presumption in their own strength, courage, and conduct; which made them not enough think and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of battles: though it must be acknowledged, most of the officers were persons of signal virtue and sobriety, and, in their own natures, of great modesty and piety; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which success, valour, and even the conscience of the cause, is apt to produce in men not overmuch inclined to presumption [1].

404. There was another result of council at Oxford, in this winter season, which deserves to be mentioned; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many, and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the Scots were visibly armed, and upon their march into England, which the King was the last man in believing, and when there was no way to stop or divert them, his majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some

[1] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS. :—

'To give fresh life to those counties, according to a resolution formerly
April 3. taken, prince Rupert was sent general into those parts, the lord Byron being his lieutenant general; his highness having a desire to command a body apart from the King's army, upon some private differences and dislikes, which grew up in most places, to the disturbance of the public affairs.'

And the *Life* is then resumed, at p. 260, for §§ 404–8.]

men of that nation, who had been long proposing a way to give 1644
them so much trouble at home that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their neighbours; to which propositions less ear had been given out of too much confidence in persons upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependence. The earl of Mountrose, a young man of a great spirit and of the most ancient nobility, had been one of the most principal and active covenanters in the beginning of the troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that party and his command in that army; and at the King's being in Scotland, after the Pacification, made full tender of his service to his majesty; and was so much in the jealousy and detestation of the violent party, whereof the earl of Arguyle was the head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.

405. Upon the beginning of the Parliament at Edenborough, and the manifestation that the duke Hambleton would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof, (as hath been men- § 271.
tioned before,) he privately withdrew out of Scotland, and came to the King, few days before the siege was raised from Gloster, and gave his majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of duke Hambleton, and of the posture that kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart propositions to the King for the remedy, which there was not then time enough to consult: but as soon as the King retired to Oxford, after the battle of Newbery, and had fuller intelligence, by the resort of others of that nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the affairs stood in Scotland, and heard that duke Hambleton and his brother the earl of Lanrick were upon their way as far as York towards Oxford, his majesty was very willing to hearken to the earl of Mountrose and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischieve that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared that they durst make no propositions for the advancement of the King's service, except they might be first assured that no part of it should be communicated to duke Hambleton, nor he suffered to have any part or share in any

1644 action that should depend upon it; for that they were most assured that he had always betrayed his majesty, and that it had been absolutely in his power to have prevented this new combination if he would resolutely have opposed it; but if they might be secure in that particular, they would make some attempt under his majesty's commission in their own country, as might possibly make some disturbance there. His majesty thought he had much less reason to be confident of the duke than formerly, for he had expressly failed of doing somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he thought he had not ground enough to withdraw all kind of trust from him, except he did at the same time secure him from being able to do him farther mischieve, towards which kind of severity he did not think he had evidence enough. Besides, he had a very good opinion of the earl of Lanrick, as a man of much more plainness and sincerity than his brother; as in truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full resolution in this important affair, his majesty appointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to examine the earl of Mountrose, the earl of Kynoole, the lord Ogleby, and some others, upon oath, of all things they could accuse duke Hambleton or his brother Lanrick of, and to take their examinations in writing; that so his majesty might discover whether their errors proceeded from infidelity, and consider the better what course to observe in his proceedings with them; and this was carried with as much secrecy as an affair of that nature could be, wherein so many were trusted.

406. Upon their examination there appeared too much cause to conclude that the duke had not behaved himself with that loyalty as he ought to have done. The earl of Mountrose, whilst he had been of that party, had been privy to much of his correspondence and intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he commanded the fleet in the Frith, and when he had many conferences with his mother, who was a woman most passionate in those contrivances, and with others of that party, and when he did nothing to hurt or incommodate the enemy; all which was expressly pardoned by the Act of

Oblivion, which had been passed with all formality and solemnity 1644
by the King in the Parliaments of both kingdoms: and so much as to question what was so forgot might raise a greater fire than that which they desired to quench; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of Scotland it was manifest that the duke had absolutely opposed all overtures of force, and for seizing those persons who could only be able to raise new troubles; which had been very easy to have done; and that he had betrayed the King, and all the Lords, in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament, called and summoned against the King's express pleasure and command, and without any pretence of law. And to this the King's approbation and consent had been shewed to them by the duke under the King's own hand; which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw this mischieve.

407. The case was this: The duke had given the King an account, after he had himself promised the King that the Parliament should never be assembled, (which his majesty abhorred,) that though some few hot and passionate men desired to put themselves in arms to stop both election of the members and any meeting together in Parliament, yet that all the sober men, who could bear any considerable part in the action, were clearly of the opinion to take as much pains as they could to cause good elections to be made, and then to appear themselves; and that they had hope to have such a major part that they might more advantageously dissolve the meeting as soon as they came together than prevent it; however, that then would be the fit time to protest against it, and immediately to put themselves into arms, for which they would be well provided at the same time; and to this state he desired the King's positive direction. And his majesty, in answer to it, had said, 'since it was the opinion of all his friends, he would not command them to do that which was against their judgment, but would attend the success; and was content that they should all appear in the Parliament at its first meeting:' and the duke had shewed the lords those words in the King's letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his

1644 permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one person who was of that opinion or had given that counsel, but had still detested that expedient when proposed.

408. Then the duke's carriage in the Parliament, and his brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the testimony of those who were present; and the earl of Lanrick's applying the signet to the proclamation for that rendezvous where the army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse. And so the clear state of the evidence, upon the depositions of the persons examined, was presented to the King for his own determination. His majesty had some thoughts of sending to the marquis of Newcastle to stop the duke and his brother at York, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both
Dec. 16. came to Oxford, and meant the same night to have kissed their majesties' hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a command from the King to keep their chambers, and had a guard attended them. The King resolved to consult the whole affair then with the Council-board, whereas hitherto the examinations had been taken by a committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that end directed that a transcript might be prepared of all the examinations at large, and that the witnesses might be ready to appear before the board, if it should be thought necessary; his majesty at that time inclining to have both the lords present, and the depositions read, and the witnesses confronted before them. But
Jan. 17. whilst this was preparing, the second morning after their coming to the town[1], the earl of Lanrick, either having corrupted or deluded the guard, found a means to escape, and by the assistance of one Cunningham (a gentleman of the Privy-chamber, and of that nation) had horses ready, with which the earl and his friend fled, and went directly to London, where he was very well received. Hereupon the King informed the board of the whole affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in Scotland, and so, in many respects, it was not a season to proceed judic-

[1] [A month afterwards.]

ially against him, it was thought enough for the present to 1644
prevent his doing farther mischieve by putting him under a
secure restraint: and so he was sent in custody to the castle at Jan. 3.
Bristol, and from thence to Exciter, and so to the castle at Pendennis in Cornwall; where we shall leave him.

409[1]. About this time the councils at Westminster lost a
principal supporter by the death of John Pimm, who died, with Dec. 8.
great torment and agony, of a disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *morbus pediculosus*, which rendered him an object very loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand or head deeper in their contrivance; and yet I believe they grew much higher even in his life than he designed. He was a man of a private quality and condition of life; his education in the office of the Exchequer, where he had been a clerk; and his parts rather acquired by industry than supplied by nature or adorned by art. He had been well known in former Parliaments, and was one of those few who had sat in many[2], the long intermission of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions; and this gave him some reputation and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

410. He had been most taken notice of for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those opinions which had been imputed to Arminius; and this give him great authority and interest with those who were not pleased with the government of the Church or the growing power of the clergy; yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be, very entire to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. In the short Parliament before this he spake much, and appeared to be the most leading man; for, besides the exact knowledge of the forms and orders of that council, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave

[1] [§§ 409–14 from the *Hist.*, pp. 525–7.]
[2] [For Tavistock, from 1624.]

1644 way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man, and had observed the errors and mistakes in government, and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy dissolution of that Parliament he continued for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those lords who were most strangers, and believed most averse, from the Court, in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the State; and as soon as this Parliament was resolved to be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

411. At the first opening of this Parliament he appeared passionate and prepared against the earl of Strafford; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. Hambden and Mr. St. John, yet he seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the House of Commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and for some months after, the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of softening and obliging the powerful persons in both Houses, when it was resolved to make the earl of Bedford Lord High Treasurer of England, the King likewise intended to make Mr. Pimm Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the House which was more popular than any man's person, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the Crown; in which he had so ill success that his interest and reputation there visibly abated, and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good; which wrought very much upon him to melancholique, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations. In the end, whether upon the death of the earl of Bedford he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was guilty of any thing which

upon his conversion to the Court he thought might be discovered 1644
to his damage, or for pure want of courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate propositions.

412. In the prosecution of the earl of Strafford his carriage and language was such that expressed much personal animosity, and he was accused of having practised some arts in it not worthy a good man; as an Irishman of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged that, being brought to him as an evidence of one part of the charge against the Lord Lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer, Mr. Pimm gave him money to buy him a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence; which, if true, may make many other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him to be believed. As, that he received a great sum of money from the French ambassador, to hinder the transportation of those regiments of Ireland into Flanders, upon the disbanding that army there, which had been prepared by the earl of Strafford for the business of Scotland; in which if his majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted and contradicted by the Houses, many do believe the rebellion in Ireland had not happened.

413. Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons, and that he did preserve many from censure who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed that he had sold that protection for valuable consideration. From the time of his being accused of high treason by the King, with the lord Kimbolton and the other members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation; and when the earl of Essex was disposed the last summer by those lords to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pimm's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to

1644 that temper which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming in to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness he was a very sad spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his
Dec. 8. last thoughts and considerations were. He died towards the
Dec. 13. end of December, before the Scots entered, and was buried with wonderful pomp and magnificence in that place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest.

414. The arrival of the Prince Elector at London was no less the discourse of all tongues than the death of Mr. Pymm. He had been in England before the troubles, and received and cherished by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the King left London he attended his majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high that his majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the King many days' notice of his resolution, the Prince Elector left the Court, and, taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men, who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the Parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them when it was evident they esteemed not the King as they should. And this was the more spoken of when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expressed a good sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his conscience, that he knew of some such designs of his majesty as he could not comply with. At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming, (which were derived to Oxford, as somewhat that might have an influence upon his majesty's counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against
Aug. 30. the King,) he arrived at London, and was received with cere-
Sept. 2. 1645 mony, lodged in Whitehall, and order taken for the payment
Oct. 8. 1644 of that pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his
Oct. 24. majesty; and a particular direction by both Houses, that he

should be admitted to sit in the Assembly of Divines, where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the King took no other notice than sometimes to express that he was sorry on his nephew's behalf that he thought fit to declare such a compliance. 1644

415[1]. The defeat of colonel John Bellasis at Selby by sir Thomas Fayrefax, and the destruction of all the Irish regiments under the lord Byron, together with the terror of the Scots' army, had so let loose all the King's enemies in the northern parts, which were lately at the King's devotion, that his friends were in great distress in all places before the season was ripe to take the field. The earl of Derby, who had kept Lancashire in reasonable subjection, and enclosed all the enemies of that county within the town of Manchester, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a greater distance from them; which was like in a short time to increase the number of the rebels there. Newark, a very necessary garrison in the county of Nottingham, [which] had not only subjected that little county, the town of Nottingham only excepted, (which was, upon the matter, confined within its own walls,) but kept a great part of the large county of Lincoln under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the forces of that country, under the command of Meldrum a Scotchman, with addition of others from Hull, that they were compelled to beg relief from the King at Oxford; whilst the marquis of Newcastle had enough to do to keep the Scots at a bay, and to put York in a condition to endure a siege if he should be forced to continue within those walls.

416. In these straits, though it was yet the depth of winter, and to provide the better for the security of Shrewsbury and Chester and North Wales, all which were terrified with the defeat of the lord Byron, the King found it necessary to send prince Rupert, with a good body of chosen horse and dragoons, and some foot, with direction, after he had visited Shrewsbury and Chester, and used all possible endeavours to make new levies, that he should attempt the relief of Newark: which

[1] [§ 415 and part of § 416 are from the *Life*, p. 262.]

1644 being lost, would cut off all possible communication between Oxford and York[1]. In Newark, the garrison consisted most of the gentry of the county and the inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a siege but courage and excellent affections. The enemy intrenched themselves before the town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the King to find a way for their relief. To send a body from Oxford was very hazardous, and the enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from Shrewsbury and Chester, where prince Rupert had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so handsome a body together, that the enemy found little advantage by their late victory in the enlargement of their quarters. So that his highness resolved to try what he could do for Newark, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the enemy, who had always excellent intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength to attempt that work, that

[1] [The *Life* continues thus:—

'And the prince had so good success in that attempt, and marched with so great secrecy from Shrewsbury, that he was even upon the trenches of the enemy before they had notice of his approach, which put them into so great confusion; and his horse charged them in that confusion before his foot were within some miles of the place; which was an action that might very reasonably have disappointed and broken the whole design: but the consternation was so great, which was increased by some disunion amongst the officers of the other side, that though they remained still in possession of some strong redoubts, from whence they could not have been beaten off, and from whence they could still continue the siege, they treated, and agreed to rise and depart before the prince's body was in view, that, when it appeared, did not make half the number of the enemy: so great success doth often attend bold and resolute attempts, though without reason or advice, which would never have approved this enterprise.'

The remainder of the section above is from the *Hist.*, p. 527, where the following cancelled lines preceded the passage:—

'The year ended with an action very prosperous to the King. It is remembered that upon the marquis of Newcastle's advancing towards the Scots, and the success of sir Thomas Fayrefax before Nantwitch, the enemy increased very much their strength in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and those counties, insomuch as sir John Meldrum, with a good body of horse and foot out of Lincolnshire and the associated counties, sat down before Newark, where the garrison,' &c.]

he was within six miles of them before they believed he thought 1644
of them; and charging and routing some of their horse, pursued them with that expedition that he besieged them in their own intrenchment with his horse before his foot came within four miles. And in that consternation, they, concluding that he must have a vast power and strength to bring them into those straits, with a number inferior to the enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an action of time, he brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their arms or any carriage or baggage. And so he relieved Newark, and took March 22.
above four thousand arms, eleven pieces of brass cannon, two mortar pieces, and above fifty barrels of powder; which was a victory as prodigious as any happened throughout the war. And with this prosperous action, which was performed on the 22nd of March, we shall conclude the transactions of this year[1].

[1] [Dated, 'Castle Elizabeth, 8 of March, 1647.']

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

BOOK VIII.

1644 1. As the winter had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those forces upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the enemy the year ensuing, so the spring entered with no better presage. After both armies had entered into their winter quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue [1], the great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending sir William Waller into the west, put the King upon the resolution of having such a body in his way as might give him interruption, without prince Morrice's being disturbed in his siege of Plimmoth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of his garrison of Bristol and those western counties adjacent newly reduced, and where his reputation and interest was very great, and by which he had in a short time raised a pretty body of foot and horse; the which receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of sir Charles Vavasour and sir John Paulett [2], and a good troop of horse under the command of captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol since the cessation, the lord Hopton advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither sir John Berkely brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all [3], at the least,

[1] [Two pages are here inserted which were originally in book vii, but were there marked for transposition; *Hist.*, pp. 517–8.]

[2] [This name is substituted in the MS. for 'Sir Will. St. Leger.']

[3] [Clarendon has here written in the margin, 'Conclude this when the lord Hopton's papers arryve,' and what follows is written with darker ink. No. 1738, art. 6 among the Clarendon MSS. contains an account of Hopton's proceedings in Dorset, Hampshire and Sussex up to the battle of Alresford, but unfortunately no dates are given. There is no mention there of *Salisbury*, but Hopton goes to Winchester from a rendezvous at *Amesbury*.]

three thousand foot, and about fifteen hundred horse; which, in 1644
so good a post as Winchester was, would in a short time have grown to a pretty army, and was at present strong enough to have stopped or attended Waller in his western expedition; nor did he expect to have found such an obstruction in his way, and therefore, when he was upon his march, and was informed of the lord Hopton's being at Winchester with such a strength, he retired to Farnham, and quartered there till he gave his masters an account that he wanted other supplies.

2. It was a general misfortune and miscomputation of that time, that the party in all places which wished well to the King, which consisted of most of the gentry in most counties, and for the present were awed and kept under by the militia and other committees of Parliament, had so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest that they believed they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great rigour and insolence. And so the lord Hopton was no sooner possessed of Winchester, where sir William Ogle had likewise seized upon the castle for the King Oct.
and put it into a tenable condition, than the gentlemen of Sussex and of the adjacent parts of Hampshire sent privately to him, that, if he would advance into their country, they would undertake in a short time to make great levies of men for the recruit of his army, and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they would be well able to defend, and thereby keep that part of the country in the King's obedience.

3. Sir Edward Ford, a gentleman of a good family and fair fortune in Sussex, had then a regiment of horse in the lord Hopton's troops; and the King had made him high shrief of Sussex that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that county. He had with him in his regiment many of the gentlemen of that country of good quality: and they all besought the lord Hopton, that he would, since Waller was not like to advance, at least send some troops into those parts, to give a little countenance to the

1644 levies they would be well able to make; assuring him, that they would, in the first place, seize upon Arrundell castle, which, standing upon the sea, would yield great advantage to the King's service, and keep that rich corner of the country at his majesty's devotion. These, and many other, specious undertakings disposed the lord Hopton, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle upon old accounts, to wish himself at liberty to comply with those gentlemen's desires: of all which he gave such an account to the King as made it appear that he liked the design, and thought it practicable if he had an addition of a regiment or two of foot under good officers; for that quarter of Sussex which he meant to visit was a fast and enclosed country, and Arrundell castle had a garrison in it, though not numerous or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy.

4. It was about Christmas, and the King had no farther design for the winter than to keep Waller from visiting and disturbing the west, and to recruit his army to such a degree as to be able to take the field early, which he knew the rebels resolved to do: yet the good post the lord Hopton was already possessed of at Winchester, and these positive undertakings from Sussex, wrought upon many to think that this opportunity should not be lost. The King had great assurance of the general good affections of the county of Kent, insomuch as the people had with difficulty been restrained from making some attempt upon the confidence of their own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid that there might be a conjunction between that and Sussex, it might produce an association little inferior to that of the southern counties under the earl of Manchester, and might by the spring be argument of that distraction to the Parliament that they might not well know to what part to dispose their armies, and the King might apply his own to that part and purpose as should seem most reasonable to him.

5. These and other reasons prevailed, and the King gave the lord Hopton order to prosecute his design upon Sussex in such manner as he thought fit, provided that he was well assured

that Waller should not make advantage upon that enterprise to find the way open to him to march into the west. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, sir Jacob Ashly was likewise sent to him from Reading, with a thousand commanded men of that garrison, Wallingford, and of Oxford: which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester but the lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however, that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the west. Waller was then quartered at Farnham and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy as if he intended to fight, but, after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the castle of Farnham, a place of great strength, and drew his army into the town; and within three or four days went himself to London, more effectually to solicit recruits than his letters had been able to do. 1644

6. When the lord Hopton saw that he could attempt no farther upon the troops, and was fully assured that sir William Waller was himself gone to London, he concluded that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the gentlemen of Sussex, and marched thither with such a body of horse and foot as he thought competent for the service. And the exceeding hard frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways than better weather would have done; and he came to Arrundell before they had any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in its situation was very strong, and though the fortifications were not regular but of the old fashion, yet the walls were very strong, and the graff broad and deep; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough in all respects to have defied all assaults, and might, without putting themselves to any trouble, [have] been very secure against all the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual or ammunition [were][1] Dec. 6.

[1] ['was,' MS.]

1644 not sufficient to have endured any long restraint: and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. And so upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement if he should defer the giving it up, either from the effect of his own fear and want of courage or from the good inclinations of
Dec. 9. some of the soldiers the castle was surrendered the third day; and appeared to be a place more worth the keeping, and capable in a short time to be made secure against a good army.

7. The lord Hopton, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the command and government thereof to sir Edward Ford, high shrief of the county, with a garrison of above two hundred men, besides many good officers who desired or were very willing to stay, as a place very favourable for the making levies of men, which they all intended. And it may be the more remained there out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the winter with better accommodation.

8. The news of sir William Waller's return to Farnham, with strong recruits of horse and foot, made it necessary to the lord Hopton to leave Arrundell castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended, and without well considering the mixture of the men he left there, whereof many were of insolent and pragmatical natures, not like to conform themselves to those strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry as the exigence they were like to be in made necessary. The principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, in the first place and setting all other things aside, to draw in store of provision of all kinds, both for the numbers they were already and for such as would probably in a short time be added to them; all which, from the great plenty that country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done; and if it had been done, that place would have remained long such a thorn in the side of the Parliament as would have rendered their state very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

9. Waller's journey to London answered his expectation, and his presence had an extraordinary operation to procure any thing desired. He reported the lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them; and the quick progress he had made in Sussex, and his taking Arrundell castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the King had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent and all other places, and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they used for recruiting their armies by levies of volunteers, and persuading the prentices of the city to become soldiers, upon the privilege they gave them for their freedom for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their masters' service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible magazine of men, their devoted city, to whose affections the person of sir William Waller was most acceptable, and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest regiments of auxiliaries to march out of the line to Farnham; which they consented to. And then they appointed the earl of Essex to give his orders to sir William Balfore, with one thousand of the horse of his army, likewise to observe Waller's commands; who with this great addition of forces made haste to his other troops at Farnham, where he scarce rested, but, after he had informed himself how the lord Hopton's army lay quartered, which was at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions, (as beating up of quarters was his master-piece,) all the night, and by the break of day encompassed a great village called Alton, where a troop or two of horse and a regiment of foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the horse took the alarum quickly, and for the most part made their escape to Winchester, the

1644
Dec. 2.
Dec. 3.
Dec. 4, 5.
Dec. 13.

1644 head quarter, whither the lord Hopton was returned but the night before from Arrundell. Colonel Boles, who commanded his own regiment of foot there, consisting of about five hundred men, which had been drawn out of the garrison of Wallingford, when he found himself encompassed by the enemy's army of horse and foot, saw he could not defend himself or make other resistance than by retiring with his men into the church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours that relief might be sent to him, but he had not time to barricado the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon, and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms and asked quarter; which was likewise offered to the colonel, who refused it, and valiantly defended him[self,] till, with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place; his enemies giving him a testimony of great courage and resolution.

10. Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good regiment would make upon the lord Hopton's forces, and that the report which the troops of horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with wonderful celerity, the hard frost
Dec. 19. continuing, he marched with all his army to Arrundell castle, where he found that garrison as unprovided as he could wish, and, instead of increasing their magazine of victual by supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the lord Hopton had provided for. The governor was a man of honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many, without command, amongst whom one colonel Bamford, an Irishman, though he called himself Bamfeild, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them, and, by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means to send in again to them; and so increased their faction and animosity

against one another, that, after he had kept them waking with 1644
continual alarums three or four days, near half the men being sick and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners Jan. 6.
of war upon quarter; the place being able to have defended itself against all that power for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth was taken prisoner, who, out of kindness and respect to the lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march, and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison till the weather should mend. As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable, so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days[1]; to the grief of all who knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his book and the reputation he had with learned men.

11. The lord Hopton sustained the loss of this regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller, to make even all accounts, and made what haste he could, upon the first advertisement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have time enough to have relieved Arrundell castle, which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up; but that hope quickly vanished upon the undoubted intelligence of that surrender, and the news that Waller was returned with a full resolution to prosecute his design upon the west: to which, besides the encouragements of his two late victories, (with which he was marvellously elated,) he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the horse, which belonged to the earl of Essex' army, might be speedily recalled, and the time would be quickly expired that he had promised his auxiliary regiments of London that he would dismiss them.

12. Upon the news the King received of the great supply

[1] [In the bishop's palace at Chichester, and was buried in the cathedral-cloisters 25 Jan.]

1644 the Parliament had so suddenly sent to Waller, both from the earl of Essex his army and from the city, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of foot as he could draw out of Oxford and the neighbour garrisons. And the earl of Braynford, general of the army, who had a fast friendship with the lord Hopton, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit rather than to sit still in his winter quarters, his majesty was very glad, and cherished the disposition, and was desirous that so great an officer might be present in an army upon which so much of his hopes depended, and which did not abound with officers of great experience. And so the general, with such volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to Winchester; where he found the lord Hopton in agony for the loss of the regiment of foot at Alton, and confounded with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of Arrundell castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the general, and desired to receive his orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute command of the troops; which he as positively refused to do, only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able; which the lord Hopton was compelled to be contented with: nor could there be a greater union and consent between two friends, the general being ready to give his advice upon all particulars, and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion and giving orders accordingly.

13. As soon as they were informed that Waller had drawn all his troops together about Farnham, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went
March 29. to meet him; and about Al[re]sford, near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, they came to know how near they were to each other; and being in view, chose the ground upon which they meant the battle should be fought; of which Waller, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his horse. The King's army consisted of about five thousand foot and three thousand horse; and Waller, with sir William Balfore, exceeded in horse, but were upon the matter equal in foot, with this only advantage, that both horse and foot were, as

they were always, much better armed, no man wanting any weapon offensive or defensive that was proper for him; and sir Arthur Haslerigg's regiment of cuirassiers called the *Lobsters*, were so formidable, that the King's naked and unarmed troops (amongst which few were better armed than with swords) could not bear their impression. 1644

14. The King's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges from the horse with notable courage and without being broken: whilst those horse which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field; and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his cannon and ammunition, (whereof he lost none,) that night to Reading: the enemy being so shattered that they had no mind to pursue; only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought upon this success to have been immediately admitted into that castle, which was his own inheritance[1]; but he found that too well defended, and so returned with taking revenge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

15. There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss Waller sustained than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the auxiliary regiments of London and Kent to march farther; and within three or four days they left him and returned to their habitations, with great lamentation of their friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides common men and many good officers, there fell that day the lord John Steward, brother to the duke of Richmond, and general of the horse of that army[2],

[1] [It had been granted to him May 23, 1638. *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1637-8, p. 447.]

[2] [See note, p. 313.]

1644 and sir John Smith, brother to the lord Carrington, and commissary general of the horse. They were both brought off the field by the few horse who stayed with them and did their duty, and carried to Reading, and the next day to Abington, that they might be nearer to the assistance of the best remedies by physicians and surgeons; but they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds, which were very many upon either of them.

16. The former was a young man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of age; who, being of a more choleric and rough nature than the other branches of that illustrious and princely family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the Court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of arms when he did not think the scene should have been in his own country. His courage was so signal that day that too much could not be expected from it if he had outlived it, and he was so generally beloved that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, sir John Smith, had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders, being of an ancient Catholic family; and had long the reputation of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland he betook himself to the service of his own prince, and, from the beginning of the war to his own end performed many signal actions of courage. And the death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned.

17. This battle was fought the 29th day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme of the King's counsels: for whereas before he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part, he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive part; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found within very few days after that he was not only deprived of the men he had lost at Al[re]sford, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his army by a conjunction with prince Rupert; who he believed would have returned in time, with a strong body, after his great success at Newark, both of horse and foot,

from Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales: all which hopes were soon blasted. For[1] the prince had scarce put the garrison of Newark in order, and provided it to endure another attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his highness's departure, (though indeed the shame of the defeat, and the rage amongst the officers and soldiers when they saw by what a handful of men they had been terrified and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole body within few days,) when he received great instance from the earl of Darby to come into Lancashire to relieve him, who was already besieged in his own strong house at Latham by a strong body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the earl made ample promises that, within so many days after the siege should be raised with any defeat to the enemy, he would advance his highness's levies with two thousand men, and supply him with a considerable sum of money. And the earl had likewise, by an express, made the same instance to the King at Oxford, from whence his majesty sent his permission and approbation to the prince before his departure from Newark, hoping still that his highness would be able to despatch that service in Lancashire, and with the more notable recruits of men in those parts be able to return to Oxford by the time that it would be necessary for his majesty to take the field. But within a short time he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the prince could finish his expedition into Lancashire, (which he did with wonderful gallantry, raised the siege at Latham with a great execution upon the enemy, and took two or three of their garrisons obstinately defended, and therefore with the greater slaughter,) the marquis of Newcastle was compelled to retire with his whole army within the walls of York. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous army of the Scots, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them; but he found he had a worse enemy to deal with.

1644 May 27. April 19.

18. From the time that the ruling party of the Parliament discerned that their general the earl of Essex would never

[1] [The text is here taken up from the *Life*, p. 262.]

1644 serve their turn or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another army apart, that should be more at their devotion; and in the forming whereof they would be sure to choose such officers as would probably not only observe their orders but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, that there were so many disaffected persons of the nobility and principal gentry in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, there might a body start up there for the King, which, upon the success of the marquis of Newcastle, whose arms then reached into Lincolnshire, might grow very formidable. For prevention whereof
July 3. they had formed an association between Essex, (a county, upon the influence of the earl of Warwick and the power of his clergy, they most confided in,) Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedford, and Huntington; in all which they had many persons of whose entire affections they were well assured, and, in most of them there were few considerable persons who wished them ill. Of this asso-
Aug. 10. ciation they had made the earl of Manchester general, to be subject only to their own commands, and independent upon the earl of Essex. And under him they chose Oliver Cromwell to command their horse; and many other officers who never intended to be subject again to the King, and avowed other principles in conscience and religion than had been before publicly declared.

19. And to this general they gave order to reside within that association, and to make levies of men sufficient to keep those counties in obedience: for at first they pretended no more. But in the secret treaty made by sir H. Vane with the Scots, they were bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into Yorkshire with their army, that a body of English horse, foot, and cannon, should be ready to assist them, commanded by their own officers, as a body apart: the Scots not then trusting their own great numbers as equal to fight with the English. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply and provide for, that army under the earl of Manchester than for the other under the earl of Essex. And now, according to their agreement, upon the Scots' first entrance into Yorkshire, the earl of Manchester had likewise order to march with

his whole body thither; having, for the most part, a committee 1644
of the Parliament, (whereof sir Harry Vane was one,) with him, as there was another committee of the Scots' Parliament always in that army; there being now the committees of both kingdoms residing at London for the carrying on the war.

20. The marquis of Newcastle, being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his army of foot and cannon into York, with some troops of horse; and sent the body of his horse, under the command of general Goring, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the enemy; and then sent an express to the King to inform him of the condition he was in, and to let him know that he doubted not to defend himself in that post for the term of six weeks or two months, in which time he hoped his majesty would find some way to relieve him. And upon receipt of this letter the King sent orders to prince Rupert that, as soon as he had relieved the lord Darby and recruited and refreshed his army, he should march with what expedition he could to relieve York, where being joined with the marquis of Newcastle's army there was hope they might fight the enemy: and his majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the field, without expecting the prince.

21. All these ill accidents falling out successively in the winter, the King's condition appeared very sad, and which was in the more disorder by the Queen's being now with child, which wrought upon her majesty's mind very much, and disposed her to so many fears and apprehensions of her safety that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day of the great forces raised, and in readiness, by the Parliament, much greater than they yet ever had, (which was very true,) and that they resolved as soon as the season was ripe, which was at hand, to march all to Oxford. She could not endure to think of being besieged there, and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there but to go into the west; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to embark for France. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the per-

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1644 plexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged every body to submit. So about the begin-
April 27. ning of April she began her journey from Oxford to the west, and by moderate journeys came well to Exciter, where she intended to stay till she was disburdened; for she was within little more than one month then of her time; and being in a place out of the reach of any alarum, she recovered her spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

22[1]. It was now about the middle of April, when it concerned the King with all possible sagacity to foresee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast numbers of men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude what it would be possible for his majesty to do in those exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The intelligence that Waller was still designed for the western expedition made the King appoint his whole army to be drawn together to a rendezvous at Marlborough; where himself was
April 10. present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand foot and above four thousand horse. There that body remained for some weeks, to watch and intend Waller's motion, and to fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future, and the quitting Reading and some other garrisons proposed, for the increasing the field forces; yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament armies would dispose themselves to do.

April 11. 23. So the King returned to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the members of Parliament who had been called thither, and

[1] [From this point twenty-four pages of the original MS. are lost. The MS. of the *Hist.* is for the remainder of the whole work in small disconnected portions, with separate pagination for each book, and the existing portion of book VIII begins on a page numbered 25, at the initial words of § 134, 'Since there will be often occasion,' &c. The intervening text is chiefly taken from the transcript made for the first printed edition, and consequently it is impossible to say what verbal variations there may be from the original in the part thus taken; but occasional passages are found to be extracted from the MS. of the *Life*. The lost portions are marked by the line in the margin.]

done all the service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several counties, satisfy the people of the King's importunate desire of peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament, and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his majesty's assistance. They were to meet there again in the month of October following. 1644 April 16. Oct. 8.

24. Then, that his majesty might draw most of the soldiers of that garrison with him out of Oxford when he should take the field, that city was persuaded to complete the regiment they had begun to form, under the command of a colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which they did raise to the number of a thousand men. There were likewise two other regiments raised of gentlemen and their servants, and of the scholars of the several colleges and halls of the university; all which regiments did duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the field till he returned again to Oxford; and all the lords declared that upon any emergent occasion they would mount their servants upon their horses, to make a good troop for a sudden service; which they made good; and thereby, that summer, performed two or three very considerable and important actions.

25. By this time there was reason to believe, by all the intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his quarters, that Waller had laid aside his western march, at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both his and the earl of Essex's army with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any action till they should be both complete in greater numbers than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's army removed from Marlborough to Newbery; where they remained near a month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the enemy, and to assist the garrisons of Reading or Wallingford; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

26. There had been several deliberations in the council of war, and always very different opinions, what should be done

1644 with the garrisons when the King should take the field; and the King himself was irresolute upon those debates what to do. He communicated the several reasons to prince Rupert by letters, requiring his advice; who, after he had returned answers and
April 25. received replies, made a hasty journey to Oxford from Chester, to wait upon his majesty. And it was then positively resolved that the garrisons of Oxford, Wallingford, Abington, Reading, and Banbury, should be reinforced and strengthened with all the foot; that a good body of horse should remain about Oxford, and the rest should be sent into the west to prince Morrice. If this counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good success. Both armies of the enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a siege against any place so well provided and resolved; and it would have been equally uncounsellable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any march they could have made.

27. But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the King, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils that resolutions taken upon full debate were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness, but changed upon new shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: some men being in their natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonable [1] soever, or what alterations soever there were in the affairs. And the King himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to, his own judgment, than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.

[1] [Altered in the transcript to 'unreasonably.']

28. The persons with whom he only consulted in his martial affairs, and how to carry on the war, were (besides prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the general, who was made earl of Brentford; the lord Wilmott, who was general of the horse; the lord Hopton, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the King's army, but now present; sir Jacob Ashly [1], who was major-general of the army; the lord Digby, who was Secretary of State; and sir John Culpeper, Master of the Rolls; for none of the Privy Council, those two only excepted, were called to those consultations; though some of them were still advised with, for the better execution or prosecution of what was then and there resolved. 1644

29. The general, though he had been without doubt a very good officer, and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity, yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words, and of great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

30. Wilmott was a man of a haughty and ambitious nature, of a pleasant wit, and an ill understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any consideration. He had from the beginning of the war been very averse to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's affairs (which depended upon the success of the war) should entirely be governed and conducted by the soldiers and men of war, and that no other counsellors should have any credit with his majesty. Whilst prince Rupert was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather personal animosity, against him, made any thing that Wilmott said or

[1] [Altered in the transcript here and elsewhere to 'Astley.']

1644 proposed enough slighted and contradicted: and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his person or esteem of his parts. But now, by the prince's absence, and his being the second man in the army, and the contempt he had of the old general, who was there the only officer above him, he grew marvellously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed and submitted to in all things. He had by his excessive good fellowship (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the company,) made himself so popular with all the officers of the army, especially of the horse, that he had in truth a very great interest; which he desired might appear to the King, that he might have the more interest in him. He was positive in all his advices in council, and bore contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most contradicted by the two privy-councillors, the Secretary and the Master of the Rolls, who he saw had the greatest influence upon the King, he used all the artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the officers of the army, by telling them what they had said in council, which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the times of jollity, persuaded the old general to believe that they invaded his prerogative, and meddled more in the business of the war than they ought to do, and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

31. The lord Hopton was a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the license and the levities with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted, (a virtue that none of the rest had): but in the debates concerning the war was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander in chief; which rendered him rather fit for the second than for the supreme command in an army.

32. Sir Jacob Ashly was an honest, brave, plain man, and

as fit for the office he exercised of major general of the foot as Christendom yielded, and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful and present in any action. In council he used few but very pertinent words, and was not at all pleased with the long speeches usually made there, and which rather confounded than informed his understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind. 1644

33. The two privy-councillors, though they were of the most different natures and constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their opinions; and, being in their parts much superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in those cases the ascendant over the other, had that excess of fancy that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the resolutions which had been taken, or upon the suggestions of other men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many inconveniences.

34. This unsteadiness in counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former determination concerning the garrisons to be little considered. The King's army had lain above three weeks at and about Newbery; in which time their numbers were nothing improved beyond what they had been upon their muster near Marlborough, when the King was present. When it was known that both the Parliament armies were marched out of London, that under Essex to Windsor, and that of Waller to the parts between Hartfordbridge and Basing, without any purpose of going farther west, the King's army marched to Reading; and in three days, his majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the works of that garrison: and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army five and twenty hundred old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion that it would be in May 16–18.

1644 their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

May 18. 35. The King returned to Oxford, and resolved to stay there till he could have better information what the enemy intended[1]; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For since the conjunction with the Scottish commissioners in one council for the carrying on the war, little business was brought to be consulted in either of the Houses; and there was much greater secrecy than before, none being admitted into any kind of trust but they whose affections were known to concur to the most desperate counsels. So that the designs were still entirely formed before any part of them were communicated to the earl of Essex, nor was more communicated at a time than was necessary for the present execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The intention was that the two armies, which marched out together, should always be distinct, and should only not sever till it appeared what course the King meant to take; and if he stayed in Oxford, it would be fit for both to be in the siege; the circumvallation being very great, and to be divided in many places by the river, which would keep both armies still asunder under their several officers. But if the King marched out, which they might reasonably presume he would, then the purpose was that the earl of Essex should follow the King, whither ever he went, which they imagined would be northward; and that Waller should march into the west, and subdue that. So that, having so substantially provided for the north by the Scots and the earl of Manchester, and having an army under the earl of Essex much superior in number to any the King could be attended with, and the third under Waller at liberty for the west, they promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should make an end of the war that summer.

36. It was about the tenth of May that the earl of Essex[2] and sir William Waller marched out of London with both their

[1] [The remainder of this section is from the *Life*, p. 264.]

[2] [Essex left London on May 14 and Waller the next day. Rushworth, III. ii. 668, 670.]

armies; and the very next day after the King's army had quitted Reading, the earl of Essex, from Windsor, sent forces to possess it, and recommended it to the city of London to provide both men and all other things necessary for the keeping it; which the memory of what they had suffered for the two past years by being without it easily disposed them to do. By this means the earl had the opportunity to join with Waller's army when he should think fit; which before they could not do with convenience or security. Nor did they ever after join in one body, but kept at a fit distance, to be able, if there were occasion, to help each other. 1644

37. The earl of Essex his[1] army consisted of all his old troops, which had wintered about St. Alban's and in Bedfordshire; and being now increased with four regiments of the trained bands, and auxiliaries within the city of London, did not amount to less than ten thousand horse and foot. Waller had likewise received a large recruit from London, Kent, and Sussex; and was little inferior in numbers to Essex, and in reputation above him. When the King's army retired from Reading, the horse quartered about Wantage and Farrington, and all the foot were put into Abington, with a resolution to quit or defend that town, according to the manner of the enemy's advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the east side, where, besides some indifferent fortifications, they had the advantage of the river, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the west side, from Wantage and Farrington, they would draw out and fight, if the enemy were not by much superior in number; and, in that case, they would retire with the whole army to Oxford.

38. Being satisfied with this resolution, they lay in that quiet posture, without making the least impression upon the enemy by beating up his quarters, which might easily have been done, or restraining them from making incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill humour and negligence of Wilmott. The earl of Essex advanced with his army towards Abington, and upon the east part of the

[1] [Altered in the transcript to 'Essex's.']

1644 town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of
May 25. it but the general early the next morning marched with all the foot out of Abington, the horse being come thither in the night to make good the retreat: and all this was done before his majesty had the least notice or suspicion of it. As soon as his majesty was informed of it by sir Charles Blunt, the scout-master-general, whom the general had sent to acquaint the King with the resolution, he sent sir Charles Blunt back to the general to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the messenger could return, the army was within sight of Oxford; and so the foot was drawn through the city, and the horse quartered in the villages about the town.

39. Abington was in this manner, and to the King's infinite trouble, quitted, whither a party of Essex's army came the same
May 26. night; and the next day himself with all his foot entered the town, his horse being quartered about it. He then called Waller to bring up his army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head quarter at Wantage: and so, without the striking one blow, they got the possession of Reading [and] Abington, and were masters of all Berkshire; and forced the King to draw his whole army of horse and foot on the north side of Oxford, where they were to feed on his own quarters, and to consider how to keep Oxford itself from being besieged and the King from being enclosed in it.

40. This was the deplorable condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the month of May; insomuch that it was generally reported at London that Oxford was taken and the King a prisoner; and others more confidently gave it out that his majesty resolved to come to London: of which the Parliament was not without some apprehension, though not so much as of the King's putting himself into the hands of the earl of Essex and into his protection, which they could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much,

that the committee of both kingdoms who conducted the war writ this letter to their general: 1644

41. 'My lord,

'We are credibly informed that his majesty intends to come for London. We desire you that you will do your endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and if you think that his majesty intends at all to come to the armies, that you acquaint us with the same, and do nothing therein until the Houses shall give direction.'

42. So much jealousy they had of the earl, and the more because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable expectation of increase or addition of force from the north or from the west; prince Rupert being then in his march into Lancashire for the relief of the earl of Darby, (besieged in his castle of Latham,) and prince Morrice being still engaged in the unfortunate siege of Lyme in Dorsetshire, a little fisher-town, which, after he had lain before it a month, was much more like to hold out than it was the first day[1] he came before it. In this perplexity the King sent May 26. the lord Hopton to Bristol, to provide better for the security of that important city, where he knew Waller had many friends; and himself resolved yet to stay at Oxford, till he saw how the two armies would dispose themselves, that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

43. It was very happy that the two armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the advantages they had, or improving the confusion and distraction which the King's forces were at that time too much inclined to. Orders were given so to quarter the King's army that it might keep the rebels from passing over either of the rivers Charwell or Isis, which run on the east and west sides of the city; the foot being, for the most part, quartered towards the Charwell, and the horse, with some dragoons, near the Isis.

44. In this posture all the armies lay quiet, and without action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within Oxford, and of the troops without; which

[1] [Apr. 20.]

1644 had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted Abington, and thereby of being so straitened in their quarters.

May 27. Some of Waller's forces attempted to pass the Isis at Newbridge, but were repulsed by the King's dragoons. But the

May 28. next day Essex, with his whole army, got over the Thames at San[d]ford ferry, and marched to Islip, where he made his quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon Bullin[g]ton-green, that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small party of horse, came within cannon shot, and little parties of horse came very near the ports, and had light skirmishes with some of the King's horse, without any great hurt on either side.

May 29. 45. The next morning, a strong party of the earl's army endeavoured to pass over the Charwell, at Gosworth-bridge, but were repulsed by the musketeers with very considerable loss, and so retired to their body. And now the earl being engaged with his whole army on the east side of the river Charwell, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy assistance to or from Waller, the King resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of Abington, and to take the opportunity to fight with Waller singly, before he could be relieved from the other army. In order to this, all the foot were in the evening drawn off from the guard of the passes, and marched

May 29. through Oxford in the night towards Abington; and the earl of Cleaveland, a man of signal courage, and an excellent officer upon any bold enterprise, advanced, with a party of one hundred and fifty horse, to the town itself, where there were a thousand foot and four hundred horse of Waller's army, and entered the same, and killed many, and took some prisoners: but upon the alarm he was so overpowered that his prisoners escaped, though he killed the chief commander, and made his retreat good, with the loss only of two officers and as many common soldiers; and so both the attempt upon Abington was given over, and the design of fighting Waller laid aside; and the army returned again to their old post, on the north side of Oxford.

46. Sir Jacob Ashly undertook the command himself at Gosworth-bridge, where he perceived the earl intended to force

his passage; and presently cast up breast-works, and made a redoubt for the defence of his men, and repulsed the enemy the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their assault two or three days together, and planted cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many men in the attempt. On the other side, Waller's forces from Abington did not find the New-bridge so well defended, but, overpowering those guards, and having got boats in which they put over their men, both above and below, they got that passage over the river Isis: by which they might have brought over all their army, and fallen upon the King's rear, whilst he was defending the other side. 1644 May 31 and June 1. June 1.

47. It was now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in of being shut up in Oxford. Waller lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand horse and foot by New-bridge, the van whereof quartered at Ens[h]am; and, the King's foot being drawn off from Gosworth-bridge, Essex immediately brought his men over the Charwell, and quartered that night at Bletchington, many of his horse advancing to Woodstock; so that the King seemed to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own people his condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most secret affairs, and whose fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon conditions, to the earl of Essex; which his majesty rejected with great indignation, yet had the goodness to conceal the name of the proposer; and said that 'possibly he might be found in the hands of the earl of Essex, but he would be dead first.' Word was given, for all the horse to be together, at such an hour, to expect orders; and a good body of foot, with cannon, marched through the town towards Abington; by which it was concluded, that both armies would be amused, and Waller induced to draw back over New-bridge: and, as soon as it was evening, the foot and cannon returned to their old post on the north side. June 2. June 3.

48. The King resolved, for the encouragement of the lords of the Council and the persons of quality who were in Oxford, to

1644 leave his son the duke of York there; and promised, if they should be besieged, to do all he could to relieve them before they should be reduced to extremity. He appointed, then, that two thousand and five hundred choice musketeers should be drawn out of the whole foot, under the command of Sir Jacob Ashly and four experienced colonels; all which should, without colours, repair to the place where the horse attended to receive orders, and that the rest of the foot should remain together on the north side, and so be applied to the defence of Oxford, if it should be besieged.

June 3. 49. All things being in this order, on Monday the third of June, about nine of the clock at night, the King, with the Prince and those lords and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of quality who were not appointed and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, marched out of the north port, attended by his own troop, to the place where the horse and commanded foot waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the June 4. two armies, and by daybreak were at Han[d]borough, some miles beyond all their quarters. But the King rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage and a train of artillery; so that he was content to refresh his men there, and supped himself; yet was not without apprehension that he might be followed by a body of the enemy's horse; and therefore, about nine of the clock, he continued his march from Burford over the Cotswold, and by midnight reached B[o]urton-upon-the-water; June 5. where he gave himself and his wearied troops more rest and refreshment.

50. The morning after the King left Oxford, the foot marched again through Oxford, as if they meant to go to Abington, to continue that amusement which the day before had prevailed with Waller to send many of his men back, and to delay his own advance; and likewise, that quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by noon. The earl of Essex had that morning from Bletchington

sent some horse to take a view of Oxford, and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude that the King was still there, and as much in his power as ever. Waller had earlier intelligence of his majesty's motion, and sent a good body of horse to follow him, and to retard his march, till he could come up: and his horse made such haste that they found in Burford some of the straggling soldiers, who, out of weariness or for love of drink, had stayed behind their fellows. The earl of Essex followed likewise with his army, and quartered at Chippen-Norton; and Waller's horse were as far as Broadway when the King had reached Evesham; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his garrison at Tewkesbury had been the night before surprised by a strong party from Gloucester, the chief officers being killed, and the rest taken prisoners, most of the common soldiers making their escape and coming to Evesham. But, upon intelligence that both armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the river Avon about Stratford, or some other place, and so get between the King and Worcester, his majesty changed his purpose of staying at Evesham, and presently marched to Worcester, having given order for the breaking of the bridge at Parshore; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of an arch, major Bridges, of the Prince's regiment, a man of good courage and conduct, with two or three other officers of horse, and about twenty common men, fell unfortunately into the Avon, and were drowned.

1644 June 5. June 4. June 6.

51. The earl of Essex, when he saw the King was got full two days' march before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him as to bring him into their power, resolved to pursue him no farther, but to consult what was else to be done, and to that purpose called a council of all the principal officers of both armies to attend him at Burford; where it was resolved that Waller, who had the lighter ordnance and the less carriages, should have such an addition of forces as Massey, the governor of Gloucester, should be able to furnish him with, and

June 5.

1644 so should pursue and follow the King wheresoever he should go; and that the earl of Essex, who had the greater ordnance and the heavier carriages, should prosecute the other design of relieving Lyme, and reducing the west to the obedience of the Parliament.

52. Waller opposed this resolution all he could, and urged some order and determination of the committee of both kingdoms in the point, and, that the west was assigned to him as his province, when the two armies should think fit to sever from each other. However, Essex gave him positive orders, as his general, to march according to the advice of the council of war; which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous complaints to the Parliament of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at Westminster were so incensed against the earl of Essex, June 11. that they writ a very angry and imperious letter to him, in which they reproached him for not submitting to the directions which they had given; and required him to follow their former directions, and to suffer Waller to attend the service of the west. Which letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days westward. But the earl chose rather to answer June 14. their letter than to obey their order; and writ to them that their directions had been contrary to the discipline of war and to reason, and that if he should now return it would be a great encouragement to the enemy in all places; and subscribed his letter, *Your innocent, though suspected, servant, Essex*; and then prosecuted his resolution, and continued his march for the west.

53. When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders with much diligence and vigour, and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his majesty then was; and, in his way, persuaded rather than forced the garrison of Sudely June 9. Castle, the strong house of the lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The lord of that castle was a young man of spirit and courage, and had for two years served the King very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse, which himself had raised at his own charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money, and without any diminution of his affection, left the King, under pretence

of travel; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place, which he enjoyed without considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the Parliament; nor did he in any degree contribute to the delivery of his house, which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the government of sir William Morton, a gentleman of the long robe; who in the beginning of the war cast off his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law did, and served as lieutenant colonel in the regiment of horse under the lord Chandois, and had given so frequent testimony of signal courage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected, and his fidelity as little questioned: and after many years of imprisonment, sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to receive the reward of his merit, after the return of the King, who made him first a sergeant at law, and afterwards a judge of the King's Bench, where he sat many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning, and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing on the highway. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in the giving up that castle in so unseasonable a conjuncture; which was done by the faction and artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison, which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the mutiny of the soldiers, it was given up, and the governor made prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the war. From hence Waller, with great expedition, marched to Evesham, where the evil inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the King left them, repaired their bridge over the Avon, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

1644

1660 July 4.

1665 Nov. 23.

June 11.

54. The King rested some days at Worcester, whereby he very much refreshed his troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the loyalty of that good town, and the affection of the gentry of that county, who retired

1644 thither for their security, he procured both shoes and stockings and money for his soldiers: and then, upon good information that Waller was marched out of Evesham with his whole army towards Worcester, which he would probably besiege, the King resolved not to be found there[1]; and therefore, having left that city well provided and in good heart, his majesty removed June 12. with his little army to Bewdley, that he might keep the river Severn between him and the enemy; the foot being quartered together at Bewdley, and the horse by the side of the river towards Bridgenorth. The posture in which the King was made Waller conclude that his majesty intended his course to Shrewsbury and to the more northern parts. And it is true, that, without any such resolution, orders were sent to Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and other garrisons, that they should make all possible provisions of corn and other victual, which they should cause, in great quantities, to be brought thither; which confirmed Waller in his former conjecture, and made him advance with his army beyond the King, that he might be nearer Shrewsbury than he. But, God knows, the King was without any other design than to avoid the enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of foot and without cannon, propose reasonably to fight a battle: and he had too many good reasons against going to either of those places, or to those parts, which Waller conceived him inclined to; and his majesty might well assume the complaint and expression of king David, that he was hunted *as a partridge upon the mountains*[2], and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

55. In this perplexity, it looked like the bounty of Providence that Waller was advanced so far: upon which, the June 14. King took a sudden resolution to return with all expedition to Worcester, and to make haste to Evesham; where having broke the bridge, and so left the river of Avon at his back, he might be able by quick marches to join with that part of his army

[1] [Altered in the transcript from 'to be no more found there,' and two words following have been erased.]

[2] [1 Sam. xxvi. 20.]

which he had left at Oxford, and might thereby be in a condition to fight with Waller, and to prosecute any other design. Upon this good resolution, care was taken for all the boats to come both from Bridgenorth and Worcester, that the foot might with the more speed and ease be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Insomuch that the next day, being embarked early in the morning, the foot arrived so soon at Worcester that they might very well have marched that night to Evesham, but that many of the horse, which were quartered beyond Bewdley towards Bridgenorth, could not possibly march at that rate nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both horse and foot should remain that night together at Worcester; which they did accordingly. 1644 June 15.

56. The next morning the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former resolution, and received good intelligence that Waller, without knowing any thing of his motion, remained still in his old quarters; whereupon he marched very fast to Evesham; nor would he stay there, but gave order for the horse and foot without delay to march through it, after he had provided for the breaking down the bridge, and made the inhabitants of the town pay two hundred pounds for their alacrity in the reception of Waller, and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of shoes for the use of the soldiers; which, without any long pause, was submitted to, and performed. Then the army marched that night to Broadway, where they quartered, and very early the next morning they mounted the hills near Camden; and there they had time to breathe, and to look with pleasure on the places they had passed through; having now left Waller, and the ill ways he must pass, (for even in that season of the year the ways in that vale were very deep) far enough behind[1]. June 16. June 17.

57. Now the King sent colonel Fielding, and, lest he might miscarry, (for both from Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Sudely Castle, the enemy had many scouts abroad,) two or three other messengers, to the lords of the Council at Oxford, to let them

[1] [The three last words have been transposed in the transcript from this their, apparently, original place.]

1644 June 17. June 18. June 21[1]. know of his happy return, and that he meant to quarter that night at Burford, and the next at Witney, where he did expect that all his foot, with their colours and cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that on Thursday the twentieth of June, which was within seventeen days after he had left Oxford in that disconsolate condition, the King found himself in the head of his army, from which he had been so severed, after so many accidents and melancholic perplexities, to which majesty has been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that three weeks'[2] peregrination be too particularly and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great argument of acknowledging God's good providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a brand out of the fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the rebels, more burning and devouring than the most raging fire[3], so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure, to posterity to see the most exact relation of an action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide Waller, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour, to decline fighting with his majesty.

58. In the short time the King had been absent, the garrison at Oxford was not idle. When the King in the spring had prepared for the field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the garrison at Reading, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser garrisons at a less distance from Oxford: and thereupon the garrison at Bo[r]stal House, reputed a strong place, upon the edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was appointed to demolish the works and fortifications, and to retire, and join with the army: which was no sooner done but the garrison at Aylesbury, that had felt the effects of the other's ill neighbour-

[1] [The complete rendezvous of the King's forces was at Woodstock on Friday, June 21, and on that night the King quartered at Blechingdon.]

[2] [These two words have been erased in the transcript.]

[3] ['more—fire :' these words have been also struck out.]

hood, possessed the place, and put a garrison into it, which, after the King had left Oxford, and both the armies of Essex and Waller were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that city, and obstructed the provisions which should come thither almost as much as one of the armies had done. This brought great complaints and clamour from the country and from the town to the Lords of the Council, and was ever made an excuse for their not complying with the commands they sent out for labourers to work upon the fortifications, which was the principal work in hand, or for any other service of the town. When both armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being besieged, the lords considered of a remedy to apply to this evil from Bo[r]stal House; and receiving encouragement from colonel Gage, (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large,) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a party of commanded men of the foot which the King had left there, with three pieces of cannon and a troop of horse of the town, to obey his orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place, and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the church and the outhouses, and then battered the house itself with his cannon; which they within would not long endure, but desired a parley. Upon which the house was rendered, with the ammunition, one piece of ordnance, which was all they had, and much good provision of victual, whereof they had plenty for horse and man, and had liberty given them to go away with their arms and horses; very easy conditions for so strong a post; which was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer and two or three common men. Here the colonel left a garrison, that did not only defend Oxford from those mischievous incursions, but did very near support itself by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamshire, besides the prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood[1] of Aylesbury.

1644

June 12.

[1] [The words 'very neighbourhood' are substituted in the transcript for a single word erased.]

1644 59. The earl of Essex, by slow and easy marches, and without any opposition or trouble, entered into Dorsetshire; and by his great civility and affability towards all men and the very good discipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people, insomuch that his forces rather increased than diminished; which had, during his being before Oxford, been much lessened, not only by the numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilst the sharp encounters continued at Gosworth-bridge. It can hardly be imagined how great a difference there was in the humour, disposition, and manner of the army under Essex and the other under Waller, in their behaviour and humanity towards the people, and, consequently, in the reception they found among them; the demeanour and carriage of those under Waller being much more ungentlemanly and barbarous than that of the other: besides that the people, in all places, were not without some affection, and even reverence, towards the earl, who, as well upon his own account as the memory of his father, had been always universally popular.

June 14. 60. When he came to Blandford, he had a great mind to make himself master of Weymouth, if he could compass it without engaging his army before it; which he resolved not to do; however, it was little out of his way to pass near it. Colonel Ashburnham was then governor of Weymouth; made choice of for that command, upon the opinion of his courage and dexterity; and to make way for him, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had been the year before removed from that charge; and was thereby so much disobliged that he quitted the King's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the Parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. The colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a council of war, where he produced a warrant under the hand of prince Morrice, that, the town being unten-

able, he should, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, put a sufficient strength into Portland Castle, and retire thither; which he had done; and was by the council of war absolved from any crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost reputation by it, and was thought to have left the town too soon, though he meant to have returned again, after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the townsmen mutinied, and sent to the earl of Essex when he was near the town; upon which he came thither, which he would not otherwise have done, and gave the garrison leave to march with their arms to prince Morrice, and so became master of Weymouth; and, leaving men enough out of the country to defend it, without any delay he prosecuted his march to Lyme; from whence prince Morrice, upon the news of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter, with a body of full five and twenty hundred foot and eighteen hundred horse, after he had put a garrison of five hundred men into Wareham, and with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place without reducing it. 1644 June 15. June 15.

61. As soon as the King had joined his army at Witney, which now consisted of full five thousand and five hundred foot, and very near four thousand horse, with a convenient train of artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own quarters, which had been too much wasted by friends and enemies, but to visit the enemy's country; and so the next day he marched towards Buckingham, where he would stay and expect Waller, (of whose motion he yet heard nothing,) and from whence, if he appeared not, his majesty might enter into the associated counties, and so proceed northward, if upon intelligence from thence he found it reasonable. Whilst the King stayed at Buckingham, and thought himself now in a good condition to fight with the enemy, (his troops every day bringing in store of provisions, and, being now in a country where they were not expected, met with many cart-loads of wine, grocery, and tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from London to Coventry and Warwick; all which were very welcome to June 22. June 23–26.

1644 Buckingham,) a new and unexpected trouble fell upon him by the ill humour and faction in his own army. Wilmott continued still sullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent, and had contracted such an animosity against the lord Digby and the Master of the Rolls, that he persuaded many officers of the army, especially of the horse where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a petition to the King, that those two councillors might be excluded, and be no more present in councils of war: which they promised to do.

62. Waller remained still in Worcestershire; upon which it was again consulted what the King was to do. Some proposed the marching presently into the associated counties; others, to lose no time in endeavouring to join with prince Rupert. Wilmott, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advised that they might presently march towards London, and, now both their generals and their armies were far from them, make trial what the true affection of the city was; and that, when the army was marched as far as St. Alban's, the King should send such a gracious message both to the Parliament and city as was most like to prevail upon them; and concluded as if he knew that this way of proceeding would be very much approved of by the army. This extravagant[1] motion, with all the circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought it not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that petition which he knew was framing among the officers; but wished them, that such a message should be prepared, and then that he would communicate both that and what concerned his march towards London to the lords of the Council at Oxford; that in so weighty an affair he might receive their counsel. To that purpose the lord Digby and the Master of the Rolls were sent to Oxford; who, after two days,
June 25. returned without any approbation of the march or the message by the lords. But all that intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure intelligence, that Waller had left Worcestershire, and marched

[1] [The word 'extravagant' is substituted in the transcript for a word erased.]

out with what speed he could, to find his majesty; which gave new argument of debate. 1644

63. When the King had so dexterously deceived and eluded him by his quick march to and from Worcester, Waller, who had not timely information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shewed it at all the walls of Worcester, to terrify that city, which had contemned his power a year before, when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discerned he could do no good there: then he marched towards Gloster, having sent to colonel Massy to send him some men out of Gloster; which he, being a creature of Essex's, refused to do. Upon this denial he marched into Warwickshire; and appointed his rendezvous in Keinton field, the place where the first battle was fought. There he received an addition of seven troops of horse and about six hundred foot from Warwick and from Coventry, with eleven pieces of ordnance. And with this recruit he marched confidently towards the King; of which his majesty being informed, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his army to Brackley when Waller was near Banbury; and the armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair sunshine in the afternoon, after a very wet morning, both endeavoured to possess a piece of ground they well knew to be of advantage; which being nearer to Waller, and the King passing his whole army through the town of Banbury before he could come to it, Waller had first his men upon it in good order of battle before the King could reach thither: so that the King lay that night in the field, half a mile east of Banbury, the river of Charwell being between the two armies.

June 26.

June 26.

64. The King resolved to make Waller draw off from that advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and in order thereunto marched away, as if he would enter further into Northamptonshire: and he no sooner moved but Waller likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the river, but at such a distance that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The van of the King's army was led by

June 27, 28.

1644 the general and Wilmott: in the body was the King and the Prince, and the rear consisted of one thousand commanded foot, under colonel Thelwell, with the earl of Northampton's and the earl of Cleaveland's brigades of horse. And, that the enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a party of dragoons
June 29. was sent to keep Cropredy-bridge until the army was passed beyond it. The army marching in this order, intelligence was brought to the King that there was a body of three hundred horse within less than two miles of the van of the army, that marched to join with Waller, and that they might be easily cut off, if the army mended their pace. Whereupon, orders were sent to the foremost horse that they should move faster, the van and the middle having the same directions, without any notice given to the rear. Waller quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the King's body and his rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy-bridge, which were quickly too strong for the dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint resistance: so that this party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their design of cutting off the King's rear before they should be able to get up to the body of the army. To facilitate this execution, he had sent one thousand horse more, to pass over at a ford a mile below Cropredy-bridge, and to fall upon the rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the earl of Cleaveland, who was in the van of that division, and of the enemy's having passed at Cropredy, (which was confirmed by the running of the horse and scattered foot,) and that there stood two bodies of horse without moving, and faced the army, thereupon the earl presently drew up his brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great body of the rebels' horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his rear. It was no time to expect orders; but the earl, led by his own great spirit, charged presently that body with great fury, which sustained it not with equal courage, losing a cornet and many prisoners.

65. This alarm had quickly reached the King, who sent to the van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a

little hill beyond the bridge; where he saw the enemy preparing for a second charge upon the earl of Cleaveland. The King commanded the lord Bernard Steward, a valiant young gentleman, who commanded his own guards, to make haste to the assistance of the rear, and in his way to charge those two bodies of horse which faced his majesty. He, with above a hundred of gallant and stout gentlemen, returned instantly over the bridge, and made haste towards those two bodies of horse; who, seeing their fellows routed by the earl of Cleaveland, were then advancing to charge him in the flank, as he was following the execution. But the presence of this troop made them change their mind, and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their flight; which very much facilitated the defeat that quickly ensued. 1644

66. The earl of Cleaveland, after this short encounter, made a stand under a great ash, (where the King had but half an hour before stayed and dined,) not understanding what the enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a body of their horse of sixteen cornets, and as many colours of foot, placed within the hedges, and all within musket-shot of him, and advancing upon him: which he likewise did upon them with notable vigour; and having stood their musket and carabine shot, he charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the officers of his brigade, that he routed both horse and foot, and chased them with good execution beyond their cannon: all which, being eleven pieces, were taken, with two barricadoes of wood, which were drawn upon wheels, and in each seven small brass and leather guns, charged with case-shot: most of their cannoneers were killed, and the general of their ordnance taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the King as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made master-gunner of England; with a pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life, which was looked upon as some disrespect[1] to the English nation; and having never done the King the least service, he 1638 Aug. 3.

[1] [This word is substituted in the transcript for one partly erased.]

1644 took the first opportunity to disserve him; and having been engaged against him from the beginning of the rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent disloyalty, to be general of the ordnance in the army of sir William Waller, who was very much advised by him in all matters of importance. Besides Weemes, there was taken prisoner lieutenant colonel Baker, lieutenant colonel to sir William Waller's own regiment, and five or six lieutenant colonels and captains, of as good names as were amongst them, with many lieutenants, ensigns and cornets, quartermasters, and above one hundred common soldiers; many more being slain in the charge. The earl pursued them as far as the bridge, over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their dragoons, which was placed there to make good their retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And so the earl, having cleared that side of the river, and not knowing how far he was from the army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having lost in this notable action two colonels, sir William Boteler and sir William Clarke, both gentlemen of Kent, of fair fortunes, who had raised and armed their regiments at their own charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one captain more of another regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers.

67. At the same time, the earl of Northampton discovered that party of the enemy's horse which had found a passage over the river a mile below, to follow him in the rear; and presently faced about with those regiments of his brigade. Upon which, without enduring the charge, the whole body betook themselves to flight, and got over the pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their army. The lord Bernard, with the King's troop, seeing there was no enemy left on that side, drew up in a large field opposite to the bridge, where he stood, whilst the cannon on the other side played upon him, until his majesty and the rest of the army passed by them, and drew into a body upon the fields near Wilscot. Waller instantly quitted

Cropredy, and drew up his whole army upon the high grounds, which are between Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the King's quarters about a mile; the river of Charwell and some low grounds being between both armies, which had a full view of each other. 1644

68. It was now about three of the clock in the afternoon, the weather very fair and very warm, (it being the 29th day of June;) and the King's army being now together, his majesty resolved to prosecute his good fortune, and to go to the enemy, since they would not come to him: and to that purpose sent two good parties to make way for him to pass both at Cropredy-bridge and the other pass a mile below, over which the enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To Cropredy they sent such strong bodies of foot to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the King thither could make no impression upon them, but were repulsed, till the night came and severed them; all parties being tired with the duty of the day. But they who were sent to the other pass a mile below, after a short resistance, gained it and a mill adjoining, where, after they had killed some, they took the rest prisoners; and from thence did not only defend themselves that and the next day, but did the enemy much hurt; expecting still that their fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

69. Here the King was prevailed with to make trial of another expedient. Some men, from the conference they had with the prisoners, others from other intelligence, made no doubt but that if a message were now sent of grace and pardon to all the officers and soldiers of that army, they would forthwith lay down their arms: and it was very notorious that multitudes ran every day from thence. How this message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only question that remained: and it was agreed that sir Edward Walker (who was both Garter King-at-arms and secretary to the council of war) should be sent to publish that his majesty's grace. But he wisely desired that a trumpet might be first sent for a pass: the barbarity of that people being

1644 notorious, that they regarded not the laws of arms or of nations. Whereupon a trumpet was sent to sir William Waller, to desire a safe conduct for a gentleman, who should deliver a gracious message from his majesty. After two hours' consideration, he returned answer, that he had no power to receive any message of grace or favour from his majesty, without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, to whom his majesty, if he pleased, might make his addresses. And as soon as the trumpet was gone, as an evidence of his resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest cannon to be made at the King's army, and as near the place as they could where his majesty used to be.

70. When both armies had stood upon the same ground and in the same posture for the space of two days, they both drew July 1. off to a greater distance from each other; and from that time never saw each other. It then quickly appeared by Waller's still keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from Buckingham, sometimes towards Northampton and sometimes towards Warwick, that he was without other design than of recruiting his army, and that the defeat of that day at Cropredy was much greater than it then appeared to be, and that it even broke the heart of his army. And it is very probable that if the King, after he had rested and refreshed his men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual duty, (besides that the provisions would not hold longer in the same quarters,) had followed Waller, when it was evident he would not follow the King, he might have destroyed that army without fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without its being pursued, that within fourteen days after that action at Cropredy, [Waller's] army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted that there remained not with him half that number.

71. But the truth is, from the time that the King discovered that mutinous spirit in the officers governed by Wilmott at Buckingham, he was unsatisfied with the temper of his own army, and did not desire a thorough engagement,

till he had a little time to reform some whom he resolved never more heartily to trust, and to undeceive others who, he knew, were misled without any malice or evil intention. But when he now found himself so much[1] at liberty from two great armies which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a month, and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a state in which it could for the present do him little harm, his heart was at no ease with apprehension of the terrible fright the Queen would be in, (who was newly delivered of a daughter, that was afterwards married to the duke of Orleans[2],) when she saw the earl of Essex before the walls of Exciter, and should be at the same time informed that Waller was with another army in pursuit of himself. His majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the earl of Essex, in hopes that he should be able to fight a battle with him before Waller should be able to be[3] in a condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved by a conjunction with prince Morrice, who, though he retired before Essex, would be well able, by the north of Devonshire, to meet the King, when he should know that he marched that way. 1644 June 16.

72. His majesty had no sooner taken this resolution than he gave notice of it to the lords of the Council at Oxford, and sent an express into the west to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried orders to the lord Hopton to draw what men he could out of Monmouthshire and South Wales into Bristol, that himself might meet his majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that garrison. So, without any delay, the whole army, with what expedition was possible, marched towards the west over the Cotswold to Ciciter, and so to Bath, where he arrived on the 15th day of July, and stayed there one whole day to refresh his army, which stood enough in need of it. July 12. July 15.

73[4]. The King had scarce marched two days westward when

[1] [Substituted in the transcript for a longer word erased.]

[2] [March 31, 1661.]

[3] [The three last words are erased in the transcript.]

[4] [The text is here found in the MS. of the *Life* at p. 267. And the following account of the battle of Cropredy, and of the King's movements

1644 he was surprised with terrible news from the north; for after he had by an express from Oxford received intelligence that

immediately afterwards, is taken from that MS. at p. 264, where it follows upon § 35.

'When they came near Oxford, and divided the armies on both sides, Waller to Abbington, and the earl of Essex to the other side of the town, the King thought it time to withdraw from thence; and, taking all the horse with him, and putting all the foot into the town, in the night he marched to Woodstock; and the next day, finding that the earl of [Essex] declined the town, and seemed to follow him, his majesty went forward to E[ve]s[h]am, intending to have continued his march to Worcester, where he could stay till he saw clearly what the two armies would do. But the earl of Essex, when he saw the King was at that distance, turned with his whole army towards the west, and commanded Waller with his body to follow the King, by which both he and his friends in the Parliament were disappointed; yet he could not but obey his orders: and with what speed he could he drew his army from the other side of the town, and marched after the King, who had got the benefit of two or three days' rest for his troops; and having speedy intelligence that the two armies were parted, and that Waller only attended his motion, his majesty turned back towards Oxford on the Glostershire side, and sent present orders for the general, who had stayed with the foot and cannon in Oxford, to march out with them to a place appointed, where his majesty and the whole body of horse met them, and being joined were not unwilling to see Waller, who was superior in foot by much and equal in horse. They looked upon each other a day or two, there being a little river between them, when Waller, having a mind to be at a greater distance, made his army march in no very good order, leaving a good party of horse in the rear. Upon which the van of the King's horse, at a place called Cropredy bridge, about fourteen[1] miles from Oxford, the water being low, by the long dry and hot weather, it being towards the end of June, crossed the river, and charged the enemy's horse, which received them well, and stood the shock so well that the King's horse gave ground, Wilmott the lieutenant-general being taken prisoner. But the earl of Cleaveland, with some troops who were well officered, charged them again so rudely that he freed the lieutenant-general within few minutes after he was taken, and routed all the horse, who, running away, disordered and routed their own foot; so that the King's troops pursuing them with a sharp appetite, they made a good execution both of the horse and foot, took eight pieces of cannon, with many officers of name, and amongst them, Wemms, the general of the ordnance and the second officer of the army, a Scotchman, whom the King had made master-gunner of England few years before, to the great and sensible discontent of all the English who understood that service. All this was done by four or five troops of the King's horse, who had marched faster than they ought to have done, the body of the army being a mile behind, as sir Will. Waller's van was above two miles before, when

[1] [twenty-seven.]

prince Rupert had not only relieved York but totally defeated 1644
the Scots, with many particulars to confirm it, (all which was
so much believed there that they had made public fires of joy July 5.
for the victory,) he now received quite contrary information,

this blow befell their fellows. The King march[ed] with his whole army to overtake the rest, and continued in pursuit, and often in sight of them, two days, but they would not be brought to engagement; and it appeared quickly after, that this small defeat (in which there did not appear to be a thousand men killed and taken prisoners) had so totally broken all that army that it was never brought to fight after, and he himself, after a little rest about Dunstable and those parts, returned to London, making grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted: all which was hearkened to very willingly, and his person received and treated as if he had returned victorious: which was a method very contrary to what was practised in the King's quarters.

2. The King being thus wonderfully left at liberty, and having with so little loss, upon the matter, defeated one whole army, his heart was at no ease, with the apprehension of the terrible fright the Queen would be in, who was newly delivered of a daughter, (who was afterwards married to the duke of Orleance,) when she saw the earl of Essex with his army before the walls of Exciter, and heard that Waller with another army was in pursuit of his majesty; and therefore he resolved with all possible expedition to follow the earl of Essex. And so returning to Oxford, he stayed only two nights there, to refresh his army, which had had very little rest in eight or ten days, and then began his march towards the west, taking with him all the garrison that could possibly be drawn from thence, though he left his son the duke of York there; so that the lords of the Council were glad immediately to cause all their servants to be listed, and put in troops and companies under good officers; by which they disposed the town to raise a good regiment of foot, and the scholars likewise to raise several companies of themselves, and under their own officers; by all which, with the few soldiers who were left, sufficient guards were kept for the safety of the place, and the fortifications were more diligently repaired and prosecuted than they had been in any time: in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer was so solicitous, by drawing in the country to work, and by collecting money to pay the workmen, that much was imputed to his extraordinary diligence and industry. At Oxford, (though every ill accident always changed the humours there, the town being full of lords and many persons of the best quality, besides those of the Council, with very many ladies, who were not easily pleased and kept others from being so, and they had hardly yet recovered the discomposure they had been in when the King went from thence towards the west, and when he took away all the strength of the garrison with him, which made them think themselves abandoned, and of other places to retire to, which was the reason that the King thought it necessary to leave the duke of York there, to compose their minds the better), when they had no more apprehension of a siege,' &c.; as at the end of § 121.]

1644 and was too surely convinced that his whole army was defeated. It was very true that, after many great and noble
May 27. actions performed by [prince Rupert] in the relief of Latham,
May 28. and the reduction of Bolton, and all other places in that large county, (Manchester only excepted,) in which the rebels lost very many, much blood having been shed in taking places by assault which were too obstinately defended, the prince had marched out of Lancashire with so good reputation, and had given his orders so effectually to Goring, who lay in Lincolnshire with that body of horse that belonged to the marquis of Newcastle's army, that they happily joined the prince, and marched together towards York with that expedition that the
June 30. enemy was so surprised that they found it necessary to raise the siege in confusion enough, and, leaving one whole side of the town free, drew to the other side in great disorder and consternation; there being irreconcilable differences and jealousies between the officers, and indeed between the nations: the English resolving to join no more with the Scots, and they, on the other side, as weary of their company and discipline; so that the prince had done his work, and if he had sat still the other great army would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his highness would take of them.

74. But the dismal fate of the kingdom would not permit so much sobriety [of counsel[1]]. One side of the town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire communication with those in the town, and all provision out of the country brought in abundantly, but the prince, without consulting with the marquis of Newcastle or any of the officers within the town, sent for all the soldiers to draw out, and put the whole army in battalia on that side where the enemy was drawn up; who
July 2. had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that party of the King's horse which charged the Scots so totally defeated and routed their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knocked

[1] [Interlined in the transcript.]

on the head and taken prisoners by the country, and Lashly 1644
their general fled ten miles, and was taken prisoner by a constable, (from whence the news of the victory was speedily brought to Newark, and thence sent by an express to Oxford, and so received and spread as aforesaid,) yet the English horse, commanded by Fayrefax and Cromwell, charged those on that side so well, and in such excellent order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again and charged as briskly, that, though both Fayrefax and Cromwell were hurt, and both above the shoulders, and many good officers killed, they prevailed over that body of horse which opposed them, and totally routed and beat them off the field, so that almost the whole body of the marquis of Newcastle's foot were cut off.

75. The marquis himself, and his brave brother, sir Ch[arles] Cavendish, (who was a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived,) charged in the head of a troop of gentlemen who came out of the town with him, with as much gallantry and courage as men could do. But it was so late in the evening before the battle began that the night quickly fell upon them, and the generals returned into the town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performing very few compliments each to other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together,) by prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct, courage, or discretion, in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in the draught of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure or benefit in the most particular relation of it[1].

[1] [The words 'give—of it' are substituted in the MS. for the following:—'are worthy of a full relation by some impartial person who was then

1644 76. This may be said of it, that the like was never done or heard or read of before; that two great generals, whereof one had still a good army left, his horse, by their not having performed their duty, remaining, upon the matter, entire, and much the greater part of his foot having retired into the town, the great execution having fallen upon the northern foot; and

present, and who hath communicated with the officers of both sides, whilst there are yet many knowing and ingenious men still alive.' The sections which follow to the end of 88 are only found in the transcript, but the reference to the lost original is given thus, 'v. p. 13. x 2.'

The following more 'particular relation' is found in a paper of notes by Clarendon on the affairs of the north, preserved among his MSS.

'The prince lay out of the towne, and came not to Yorke; only sent to my lord Newcastle to draw out his foote as soone as might be, &c.

'The next morninge the marquisse went out of the citty to attende the prince, and found him upon his march, the enimy havinge placed themselves upon a hill. When the marq. overtooke the prince, they both alighted, and after salutations went asyde to horse, &c. The prince sayd, "My lord, I hope wee shall have a glorious day," &c. The earle asked whether he meant to putt it to a day, and urged many reasons against it. The prince replyed, "Nothinge venture, nothinge have," &c. Severall persons had that morninge reported that the prince had an absolute commissyon to commande all those partes, and that the marquisses power was at an end, &c.

'When lt. generall Kinge came up, prince Ruperte shewed the marq. and the earle (*sic*) a paper which he sayd was the draught of the battell as he meant to fight it, and asked them what they thought off it. Kinge answered, "By God, sir, it is very fyne in the paper, but ther is no such thinge in the ffeilds." The prince replyed not, &c. The marq. asked the prince what he would do? His highness answer'd, "Wee will charge them to-morrow morninge." My lord asked him whether he were sure the enimy would not fall on them sooner? He answered, "No;" and the marquisse thereupon going to his coach hard by, and callinge for a pype of tobacco, before he could take it the enimy charged, and instantly all the prince's horse were rowted, &c. Goringe beate the other winge, &c. On the Kinge's syde, of the prince's and the marq. of Newcastle's the army was not much lesse than 18000. The enimy at the least 26000. Coll. Claveringe within 2 dayes' march with 4000 men, of which he had advertised pr. Ruperte by letter; so that if the prince had stay'd, and forborne fightinge, the businesse had bene done.

'4 or 5000 killed upon the place. 6 of the clocke at night when the battell begann. The prince went that night out of Yorke, without so much as givinge notice to the earle of Newcastle, who, accidentally hearinge of it, rose out of his bedd, and went out of towne, and told him that he would goe beyonde seas; and the same day went to Scarborough, whence he imbarked for Hamborough; and the prince went with the horse back into Lancashyre,' &c.]

the other, having the absolute commission over the northern counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his obedience, should both agree in nothing else but in leaving that good city and the whole country as a prey to the enemy; who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory, the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before,) their general made prisoner by a constable and detained in custody, till most part of the next day was passed; and most of the officers and army having marched or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they might securely return. And though the horse under Fayrefax and Cromwell had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best officers killed, or so maimed that they could not in any short time have done more hurt: so that if there had been any agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good degree, (for the enemy was not possessed of the field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the horse, which had done so little, might do the next day,) there might probably many advantages have appeared which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably. 1644

77. But neither of them were friends to such deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, that he was resolved that morning to march away with his horse, and as many foot as he had left; and the other, that he would in that instant repair to the seaside, and transport himself beyond the seas; both which they immediately performed; the marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Hamborough: the prince, with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of sir Thomas Glemham, the governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit: being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it.

1644 78. Whereas, if prince Rupert had stayed with the army he marched away with, at any reasonable distance, it would have been long before the jealousies and breaches which were between the English and Scotch armies would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the renewing the siege; such great quantities of provision being already brought into the town: and the Scots talked of nothing but returning into their own country, where the marquis of Montrose had kindled already a fire which the parliament of Edenborough could not quench. But the certain intelligence that the prince was marched away without thought of returning, and that the marquis had embarked himself, reconciled them so far, (and nothing else could,) that after two days they returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so straitened the town that the governor, when he had no hope of relief, within
July 15. a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good articles for the town, and the gentry that were in it, and for himself and the few soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he marched with all his troops to Carlisle; which he afterwards defended with [very remarkable[1]] circumstances of courage, industry, and patience.

79. The times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the King, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert only, to his friends, and after the murder of the King, produced a letter in the King's own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York; in which his majesty said, that his affairs were in so very ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his highness raised the siege from York, if he had not likewise beaten the Scotch army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory order to fight, upon what disadvantage soever:

[1] [These words are substituted in the transcript for others erased.]

and added, that the disadvantage was so great, the enemy being so much superior in number, that it was no wonder that he lost the day. But as the King's letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle as soon as the enemy drew off, and without consulting at all with the marquis of Newcastle and his officers, who must needs know more of the enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his highness could do. For he saw not the marquis till, upon his summons, he came into the field, in the head of a troop of gentlemen, as a private captain, when the battle was ranged, and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the marquis's army who came out of the town being placed upon the ground left by the prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both officers and soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it. 1644

80. Then it was too late in the day to begin the fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferred till next morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the officers and soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present engagement, have been the less, but, on the contrary, very much improved by the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the chief commanders was such, that a great part of the army was marched six miles, when it appeared by the prince's manner of drawing his army together to that ground that his resolution was to fight: the speedy intelligence whereof prevailed, (and nothing else could,) with those who were gone so far, to return, and with the rest to unite and concur in an action that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the Scots would the next morning have continued their march northward, and the earl of Manchester

1644 would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his associated counties; and it would have been in the prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

81. But then, of all the rest, his going away the next morning with all his troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable, because most prejudicial and most ruinous to the King's affairs in those parts. Nor did those troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the officers, (whereof many were gentlemen of quality and great merit,) were killed upon beating up of quarters, and little actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the prince had some secret intimation of the marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the seas, before the marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his charge, might be without any imagination that the prince would take such a distracted government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper with which they were both transported any persons of discretion and honour had interposed, they might in all probability have prevailed with both for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their conversion attempted.

82. All that can be said for the marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means or the way that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circum-

spection. He was a very fine gentleman, active and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour, and ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the Crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace. 1644

83. He had a particular reverence for the person of the King, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the Prince as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other, qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the earl of Newcastle (for he was made marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call, and with great expedition and dexterity seized upon that town, when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the King: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts, who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the King, which he was not able to supply.

1644 84. And after the battle of Edgehill, when the rebels grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the King presently to make a general who might unite all those northern counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it as the earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a present force and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in Yorkshire itself than at that present any other man had: the earl of Cumberland being at that time (though of entire affection to the King) much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied that the earl of Newcastle, by his quick march with his troops as soon as he had received his commission to be general, and in the depth of winter, redeemed or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together with which he fought many battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

85. He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which in the infancy of a war became him, and made him for some time very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with war,) nor could submit to, but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his lieutenant general King, who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotsman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did some-

times change the fortune of the day when his troops begun to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to general King himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniences fell out. 1644

86. From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there were any overtures of a treaty; and therefore, (especially after the Queen had landed in Yorkshire and stayed so long there,) he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then master entirely of all the north, he had no mind to march nearer the King, (as he had then orders to march into the associated counties, when, upon the taking of Bristol, his majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side,) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of prince Rupert, from whom he desired to be at distance. Yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose, which might have been reported, that he 'hoped his majesty did believe that he would never make the least scruple to obey the grandchild of King James:' and assuredly, if the prince had cultivated the good inclinations the marquis had towards him, with any

1644 civil and gracious condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

87. But the strange manner of the prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the marquis had raised and with so many difficulties preserved was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him general King; upon whom they who were content to spare the marquis poured out all the reproaches of infidelity, treason, and conjunction with his countrymen, which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation or ground for any such reproach: and as he had throughout the whole course of his life been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the King of Sweden with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice from his very coming into the King's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the
1652 kingdom, even to his death.

88. The loss of England came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of York or the too soon deserting the northern parts were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers, who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very

great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him, with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the King's quarrel upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the King and for his country, without farther inquiring what he had omitted to do or been overseen in doing. 1644

89[1]. This fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his majesty but that it made him pursue his former resolution, to follow the earl of Essex, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the earl of Essex had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first news of the earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left Exciter, and was removed into Cornwall, from whence in a short time her majesty embarked for France, (the prince of Aurange having sent some Dutch ships of war to attend the Queen's commands in the harbour of Falmoth, and from thence her majesty transported herself,) his majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his army from Bristol and other places, and making no doubt but that he should be able to engage the army of the earl of Essex, who was already near Exciter, before he should be able to return to London[2].

90. The earl of Essex's good fortune now began to decline: and he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness and skill, but run into labyrinth[s] from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of Exciter, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an enemy to contend with him,

[1] [From this point the text is resumed in the MS. of the *Life* at pp. 267, 266–269.]

[2] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS.: 'And prince Morrice, who had waited near two years without taking Lyme or Plimoth, the former of which was a little vile fishing town, defended by a small dry ditch, was already withdrawn into Cornwall, having lost much reputation in those parts by his unsuccessful attempts.']

1644 having left the King in so ill a condition and sir William Waller with so good an army waiting upon him, he received the news of the defeat sir William Waller received, and that the King was come with his whole army into the west in pursuit of him, without being followed by Waller, or any troops to disquiet or retard his march; which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the Parliament itself had betrayed him and conspired his ruin.

91. And the jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the west, and leaving Waller, (to whom they intended the other province,) to follow the King, but as a declaration that he would no more fight against the person of the King; and the earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expressed for and towards his army and the other under the command of the earl of Manchester; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not care what became of his; otherwise, it could not be possible that, upon so little a brush as Waller had sustained, he could not be able to follow and disturb the King in a country so enclosed as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the news he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he entered Devonshire or else in Somersetshire; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room or provisions, nor be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the lord Roberts, who was a general officer in his army, of an unsociable nature and an impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his nature, and of parts so much superior to any in the company that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the army, but pressed, with his confidence, that the army should continue its march to Cornwall; where he undertook to have so great interest, that he made no question but the presence of the earl of Essex with his army would so unite that whole county to

the Parliament's service, that it would be easy to defend the passes into the whole county (which are not many) in such a manner, that the King's army should never be able to enter into Cornwall, nor to retire out of Devonshire without great loss, nor before the Parliament would send more forces upon their backs. 1644

92. The lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the earl of Essex; and the earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with sir H. Vane, whom of all men the earl hated and looked upon as an enemy. He had never been in Cornwall, and so knew not the situation of the country: and some of the officers, and many others of that country, (as there were four or five gentlemen of that country of interest,) concurred fully with the lord Roberts, and promised great matters if the army marched thither: whereupon the earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his army, horse, foot, and cannon, into that narrow county, and pursued prince Morrice and those forces, which easily retired westward, until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

93. After the King had made a small stay at Exciter, where he found his young daughter, of whom the Queen had been so lately delivered, under the care and government of the lady Dalkith, (shortly after countess of Mourton, by the death of her husband's father,) who had been long before designed by both their majesties to that charge, and having a little refreshed and accommodated his troops, he marched directly to Cornwall; where he found the earl of Essex in such a part of the country on the sea-side, that he quickly, by the general conflux and concurrence of the whole people, upon which the earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, so to straiten his quarters that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his army, or compel the King to fight. He was, upon the matter, enclosed in and about Foy, whilst the King lay encamped 1648 Aug. 7.

1644 about Liskard; and no day passed without some skirmishes, in which the earl was more distressed, and many of his considerable officers taken prisoners. And here there happened an accident that might very well have turned the King's fortune, and deprived him of all the advantages which were in view. The King being always in the army himself, all matters were still debated before him in the presence of those councillors who were about him; who, being men of better understandings and better expressions [than the officers[1]] commonly disposed his majesty to their opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which [was[2]] proposed by the officers. The councillors, as hath been said before, were the lord Digby, Secretary of State, and sir John Culpeper, Master of the Rolls, of whose judgment the King had more esteem, even with reference to the war, than of most of the officers of the army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against them.

May 27. 94. General Ruthen, who by this time was created earl of Braynford, was general of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age and his extreme deafness, was not a man of counsel or of words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion, and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear, and in the field well knew what was to be done. Wilmott[3] was lieutenant general of the horse, and at this time the second officer of the army, and had much more credit and authority in it than any man, which he had not employed to the King's advantage, as his majesty believed. He was a man proud and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an orderly officer in marches and governing his troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great people. He had a more companionable wit even than his

[1] [Inserted in the transcript.]

[2] ['were,' MS.]

[3] [The following line is here struck out in the MS.:—'who had been likewise created a baron during the time of the Queen's late being at Oxford.' He was created baron Wilmot of Adderbury, June 29, 1643.]

rival Goring, and swayed more among the good fellows[1], and could by no means endure that the lord Digby and sir John Culpeper should have so much credit with the King in councils of war. 1644

95. The King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the earl of Strafford: however, he had been induced, upon the accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him; and this he knew well enough, and foresaw that he should be quickly overshadowed in the war, and therefore desired to get out of it by a seasonable peace; and so in all his discourses urged the necessity of it, as he had begun at Buckingham, and that the King ought to send propositions to the Parliament in order to obtaining it; and in this march had prosecuted his former design by several cabals[2] among the officers, and disposed them to petition the King to send to the Parliament again an offer of peace, and that the lord Digby and sir John Culpeper might not be permitted to be present in councils of war; implying that if this might not be granted, they would think of some other way. Which petition, though by the wisdom of some officers [it] was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the King that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the lord Digby ceased not to confirm his majesty, and as soon as the news came of the northern defeat, and that the marquis of Newcastle had left the kingdom, he prevailed that Goring might be sent for to attend his majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his nephew prince Rupert general of the army, and Goring general of the horse; which Wilmott could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having

[1] [The following line is here struck out:—'from the time of prince Rupert's departure, with whom he could have no contest, he carried himself imperiously in all debates.']

[2] [The words 'and in—cabals' are substituted in the MS. for the following:—'and during that time that the King marched out of Oxford to avoid being besieged, when both Essex and Waller encompassed the towne, and afterwards, when the King turned upon Waller and defeated and pursued him, Wilmott had made several cabals.']

1644 been always superior to him in command, and yet would be such a mortification to him as he would never have been able to digest.

96. Whether his apprehension of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the King time to prosecute that gracious method, but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march he discoursed in all places that the King must send to the earl of Essex to invite him to a conjunction with him, that so the Parliament might be obliged to consent to a peace; and pretended that he had so good intelligence in that army, as to know that such an invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable to the earl, who, he knew, was unsatisfied with the Parliament's behaviour towards him: and was so indiscreet as to desire a gentleman, with whom he had no intimacy, and who had a pass to go beyond the seas and must go through the earl's quarters, that he would remember his service to the earl of Essex, and assure him that the army so much desired peace that it should not be in the power of any of those persons about the King to hinder it, if his lordship would treat upon any reasonable propositions. All which kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented in the full magnitude to the King by the lord Digby; and his majesty's own aversion kindled any spark into a formed distrust. So that after the King came into Cornwall, and had his whole army drawn up on the top of the hill, in view of the earl of Essex, who was in the bottom, and a battle expected every day, upon some new discourse Wilmott made, out of pride and vanity (for there was not in all the former the least formed act of sedition in his heart,) the knight
Aug. 8[1]. marshal, with the assistance of Tom Ellyott, who acted the part, arrested him in the King's name of high treason, and dismounted him from his horse in the head of all the troops, and, putting a guard upon him, he was presently sent prisoner to Exciter; without any other ill effect, which might very

[1] [Walker's *Hist. Disc.*, 1705, p. 57. Symonds' *Diary*, Camd. Soc., p. 49.]

reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjuncture, when 1644
he was indeed generally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sacrificed were at all esteemed, yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vapoured away[1].

[1] [The transcript is again the only source of §§ 97–119, and 122–132; while the MS. of the *Life* continues thus, at p. 269:—

1. 'It is possible this execution was the sooner done upon the news that Goring was upon the way; for within two or three days after, he arrived, and the command of the horse was committed to him. There was another reformation likewise made at the same time by the removal of the lord Percy (who had led the van in that creation of peers which had been made at Oxford) from the office of general of the ordnance, which had been without much deliberation conferred upon him a little before; which was very reasonably bestowed upon the lord Hopton, whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other generally beloved.

2. 'When the King found himself upon the advantage ground, and that the earl of Essex would in a short time be reduced into great straits, or must fight upon notable disadvantage, his majesty was not without apprehension that he might quickly find the sad effects of the northern victory by some new army being sent into the west; and Waller with some troops was ready to come out of London; and therefore infinitely desired to work upon the earl, and made some overture to him; which he received no otherwise than with saying, that he had no authority to treat, but would inform the Parliament of what had been proposed: upon which all other thoughts were given over but those of fighting. The earl clearly discerned that he could not undertake that engagement with any reasonable hope of success: his army was in distress of all things, which would quickly increase by the manifest aversion the whole country seemed to have, so that they could get no provisions from it; and a party was no sooner sent out upon any occasion than the King's forces had notice of it from the people, so that they were usually killed or taken prisoners. In the end the earl found it necessary to send all his horse away in the night, with hope they might make their way through, and then to put himself and some officers on board some vessel which might land them at Plimoth, where there were, or would quickly be, ships to waft them to London; and then that the foot might make the best condition they could. This consultation was not so secret but that the King had seasonable notice of it, and had as carefully transmitted it to Goring, who lay then quartered at Liskard, and had, or might have had, all his horse in such a readiness, and caused the narrow lanes to have been so barricadoed and stopped, that it could not have been possible that any number of them could have escaped. But the notice and orders came when he was in one of his usual deboshes, which he could in no case master or moderate, but used to entertain them with mirth, and slighting those who sent them as men who took alarums too warmly; and so he continued his delight till all the body of the enemy's horse under Balfore were passed

1644 Aug. 14[1]. 97. The same day that Wilmott was arrested, the King removed another general officer of his army, the lord Percy, who had been made general of the ordnance upon very partial and not enough deliberated considerations, and put into that office the lord Hopton, whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the lord Percy (who was the first that had been created a baron at Oxford upon the Queen's intercession; 1643 June 28. which obliged the King to bestow the same honour on more men) had been as much inclined to mutiny as the lord Wilmott, and was a bolder speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling men to him. Yet even his removal added to the ill humour of the army, too much disposed to discontent and censuring all that was done: for

through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time; so that all but such as by the tiring of their horse were forced to stay behind, and so became prisoners, made a secure retreat to London, to the infinite reproach of the King's army and all the garrisons in the way; nor was any body punished or called in question for the supine neglect, and the superior officer being inexcusable prevented any severe inquisition into the rest. The horse being thus gone, and the earl of Essex embarked, the foot, being a body of near six thousand, under the command of their major general Skippon, who was a good and a punctual officer, he sent to the King's general, the earl of Braynford, to treat, and to offer conditions. It was wondered at by many that the King would then grant them any conditions, and not rather compel them to become prisoners of war; but they who took upon them to be most censorious in that point did not know the true state of the King's army, which was in itself very small, inferior to the number of the enemy, poor and naked, and not contented; the country which had come in, and made the show with their trained bands, were weary, and many were already gone to their harvest, which called for the rest. So that the King was contented that, delivering up their arms and cannon and ammunition, they should have liberty to return by slow marches to London, with so much baggage as they carried upon their backs; for preservation whereof they had a guard of horse to conduct them to a place appointed. And upon these terms and in this manner the remainder of that army returned alive to London, where they found their general arrived before them, who had only visited Plimoth for two or three days, whither he had before sent as many soldiers as the place required, and given such directions as he thought fit for the defence of it; and so, in a ship of the royal navy which attended his commands, he was safely delivered at London, and was there received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him.']

[1] [Symonds' *Diary*, p. 54.]

though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious person, yet he had always three or four persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him, who bore very ill the want of his table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on his behalf. 1644

98. The very next day after these removals colonel Goring appeared; who had waited upon the King the night before at his quarters with letters from prince Rupert; and then, the army being drawn up, his majesty, attended by the principal officers of the army, rode to every division of the horse, and there declared, that, at the request of his nephew prince Rupert, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. Goring general of the horse, and commanded them all to obey him; and for the lord Wilmott, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his command in the army; which declaration visibly raised the countenance of the body of horse more than the King was pleased to observe[2]. And the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition[3] that 'his majesty would give them so much light of the lord Wilmott's crimes, that they might see that themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his orders;' which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the army was in, when they were even in view of the enemy, and of which the King had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a draught of the articles by which he was charged: which though they contained so many indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies, that wise and dispassionate men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black as he had been represented to be: and Aug. 8[1]. Aug. 12[4].

[1] [Walker's *Hist. Disc.*, p. 65. Symonds' *Diary*, p. 49.]
[2] [Altered in another hand to 'with observing.']
[3] [See Symonds' *Diary*, p. 106.]
[4] [22 Aug. Rushworth III. ii. 694.]

1644 when the articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an answer to them[1], that made many men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet Wilmott himself, when he saw his old mortal enemy Goring put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication, and therefore desired leave to retire into France; and had presently a pass sent to him to that purpose, of which he made use as soon as he received it, and so transported himself out of the kingdom; which opened the mouths of many, and made it believed that he had been sacrificed to some faction and intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

99. The King had some days before this found an opportunity to make a trial whether the earl of Essex, from the notorious indignities which he received from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which he and his army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his majesty. The lord Beauchamp, eldest son to the marquis of Hertford, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into France; and to that purpose had a pass from his uncle, the earl of Essex, for himself, monsieur Richaute, a Frenchman who had been his governor, and two servants, to embark at Plymouth; and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the earl's quarters.

Aug. 6. 100. By him the King vouchsafed to write a letter with his own hand to the earl, in which he told him 'how much it was in his power to restore that peace to the kingdom which he had professed always to desire, and upon such conditions as did fully comply with all those ends for which the Parliament had first taken up arms; for his majesty was still ready to satisfy all those ends; but that since the invasion of the kingdom by the Scots all his overtures of peace had been rejected; which must prove the destruction of the kingdom, if he did not, with his authority and power, dispose those at Westminster to accept of a peace that might preserve it;' with all those arguments that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his

[1] [Symonds, p. 109.]

majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the service and merit as were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired that a pass might be procured for Mr. Harding, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to the Prince, a gentleman who had been before of much conversation with the earl, and much loved by him; and the procuring this pass was recommended to monsieur Richaute. 1644

101. The earl received his nephew very kindly; who delivered the King's letter to him, which he received and read; and being then told by the lord Beauchamp that monsieur Richaute, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the King, the earl called him to his chamber, in the presence only of the lord Beauchamp, and asked him if he had anything to say to him. Richaute told him that his principal business was to desire his permission and pass that Mr. Harding might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him. The earl answered in short, that he would not permit Mr. Harding to come to him, nor would he have any treaty with the King, having received no warrant for it from the Parliament; upon which, Richaute enlarged himself upon some particulars which Mr. Harding was to have urged, of the King's desire of peace, of the concurrence of all the lords, as well those at Oxford as in the army, in the same desire of preserving the kingdom from a conquest by the Scots, and other discourse to that purpose, and of the King's readiness to give him any security for the performance of all he had promised. To all which the earl answered sullenly, that, 'according to the commission he had received, he would defend the King's person and posterity, and that the best counsel he could give him was to go to his Parliament.'

102. As soon as the King received this account of his letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addresses, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible; and so the next day drew up all his army in sight of the enemy, and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, till the enemy quitted that

1644 part of a large heath upon which they stood, and retired to a hill near the park of the lord Mohun at Boconnocke; they having the possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently. That night both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the King's army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done as well as with that which is done.

Aug. 9. 103. The next morning the King called a council, to consider whether they should that day compel the enemy to fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable, and that it was better to expect the arrival of sir Richard Greenevill, who was yet in the west of Cornwall, and had a body of eight thousand horse and foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the foot should be presently drawn into the enclosures between Boconnocke and the heath; all the fences to the grounds of that country being very good breastworks against the enemy. The King's head-quarter was made at the lord Mohun's house, which the earl of Essex had kindly quitted when the King's army advanced the day before. The horse were quartered for the most part between Liskard and the sea; and every day compelled the earl's forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time that inconvenient spirit that had possessed so many of the horse officers appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the prisoners who were every day taken, and some of them officers of as good quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, that all the obstinacy in Essex in refusing to treat with the King proceeded only from his jealousy that when the King had got him into his hands he would take revenge upon him for all the mischief he had sustained by him; and

that if he had any assurance that what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat. 1644

104. Upon this excellent evidence, these politic contrivers presumed to prepare a letter, that should be subscribed by the general and all the superior officers of the army; the beginning of which letter was, that 'they had obtained leave of the King to send that letter to him[1].' There they proposed, that he, with six officers whom he should choose, would the next morning meet with their general, and six other officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and if he would not himself be present, that then six officers of the King's army should meet with six such as he should appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that they, and every of them who subscribed the letter, would, upon the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers, with their lives maintain that whatsoever his majesty should promise should be performed, and that it should not be in the power of any private person whatsoever to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof. When they had framed this letter between themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the earl of Essex. Aug. 8.

105. How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his majesty, many who liked not the manner of it were persuaded, by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the officers should sign it, and that the general should send a trumpet with it; his majesty at the same time concluding that it would find no better reception than his own letter had done, and likewise believing that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious addresses, and that it might add some spirit and animosity to the officers and soldiers when they should see with how much neglect and contempt the earl

[1] [Walker's *Hist. Disc.* p. 59.]

1644 received their application. And so prince Morrice, general Goring, and all the superior officers of the army, signed the
Aug. 9. letter, which a trumpet delivered to the earl of Essex; who the next day returned his answer to them in these words:

106. 'My lords, in the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it; I having no authority from the Parliament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. My lords, I am your humble servant, Essex. Listithiel, Aug. 10, 1644.'

107. This short surly answer produced the effect the King wished and expected; they who had been so over active in contriving the address were most ashamed of their folly, and the whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords which they could not by their pen.

108. Sir Richard Greenevill was now come up to the post
Aug. 10. where he should be, and, at Bodmin, in his march, had fallen upon a party of the earl's horse, and killed many, and taken
Aug. 11. others prisoners; and presented himself to the King at Boconnocke, giving his majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse, above one hundred of which were of the Queen's troop, (left behind when her majesty embarked for France,) under the command of captain Edward Brett; who had done very good service in the western parts of that county from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirmed the train-bands of those parts. This troop was presently added to the King's guards under the lord Bernard Stewart, and captain Brett was made major of that regiment.

109. Though the earl of Essex had but strait and narrow room for his quarters for so great an army of horse and foot, yet he had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of provisions, the Parliament ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude that Waller, or some other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon the King's back,

as his majesty was upon his: and no question this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all overtures made to him by the King; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own nature, which whosoever was well acquainted with might easily have foreseen what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his provisions by sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose sir Richard Greenevill drew his men from Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanhetherick, a strong house of the lord Roberts, two miles west of Boconnocke, and over the river that runs to Listithiel and thence to Foy, and likewise to Reprime [Reprin] Bridge; by which the enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe communication made between him and the King's army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, sir Jacob Ashly, with a good party of horse and foot, made himself master of View Hall, another house of the lord Mohun's, over against Foy, and of Pernon Fort, a mile below it, at the mouth of the haven; both which places he found so tenable, that he put captain Page into one and captain Garraway into the other, with two hundred commanded men, and two or three pieces of ordnance; which these two captains made good, and defended so well, that they made Foy utterly useless to Essex, save for the quartering his men; not suffering any provisions to be brought in to him from the sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all men, that he, being so long possessed of Foy, did not put strong guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into, which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

1644

Aug. 12.

Aug. 13.

110. Now the King had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his army or to make his own escape. In this posture both armies lay still, without any notable action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the King, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw

1644 his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer, and either to force Essex to fight or to be uneasy even in his quarters. And it was high time to do so; for it was now certain that either Waller himself or some other forces were already upon their march towards the west. With this
Aug. 21. resolution the whole army advanced in such a manner that the enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their quarters, and, among the rest, a rising ground called Beacon Hill; which they no sooner quitted than the King possessed, and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made, upon which some pieces of cannon were planted, that shot into their quarters and did them great hurt; when their cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

111. And now the King's forces had a full prospect over all the others' quarters; saw how all their foot and horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their forage and provisions: which when clearly viewed and observed, Goring.
Aug. 24. was sent, with the greatest part of the horse and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blase, to drive the enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the provisions they received from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not only
Aug. 26. possess themselves of St. Austell, and the westerly part of St. Blase, (so that the enemy's horse was reduced to that small extent of earth that is between the river of Foy and that at Blase, which is not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to Listithiel, and therefore it could not now long supply them,) but likewise were masters of the Parr, near St. Blase; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of landing the provisions which came by sea. And now the earl began to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the party which was sent for his relief from London had received some brush in Somersetshire, which would much retard their march; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new counsels, and to take new resolutions.

112. It is very true the defeat at Cropredy (in which there did not appear to be one thousand men killed or taken prisoners) had so totally broken Waller's army that it could never be brought to fight after: but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken spirits of his men, and heard that his majesty was marched directly towards the west, observing likewise that every night very many of his men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to London, where he made grievous complaints against the earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened to, and his person received and treated as if he had returned victorious after having defeated the King's army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the King's quarters, where all accidental misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance. 1644

113. But when he went himself to London, or presently upon it, he sent his lieutenant general Middleton (a person of whom we shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of age when he was first led into rebellion) with a body of three thousand horse and dragoons, to follow the King into the west, and to wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce in his way Donnington Castle, the house of a private gentleman near Newbery, in which there were a company or two of foot of the King's, and which they believed would be delivered up as soon as demanded, being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But Middleton found it so well defended by colonel Bois, who was governor of it, that, after he had lost at least three hundred officers and soldiers in attempting to take it [1], he was compelled to recommend it to the governor of Abington, to send an officer and some troops to block it up from infesting that great road into the west, and himself prosecuted his march to follow the King. Aug. 9.

114. In Somersetshire he heard of great magazines of all provisions, made for the supply of the King's army, and which

[1] [*Merc. Aulicus*, p. 1130.]

1644 were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter, there to wait farther orders. To surprise these provisions he sent major Carr, with five hundred horse; who fell into the village where the convoy was, and was very like to have mastered them, when sir Francis Doddington, with a troop of horse, and some foot from Bridgewater, came seasonably to their relief, and after a Aug. 14. very sharp conflict, in which two or three good officers of the King's were killed, (and among them major Killigrew, a very hopeful young man, the son of a gallant and most deserving father,) he totally routed the enemy, killed thirty or forty upon the place, and had the pursuit of them two or three miles; in which major Carr, who commanded the party, and many other officers were taken, and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp encounters, where always many more [1] are lost than are killed or taken prisoners, put such a stop to Middleton's march, that he was glad to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness and recover the spirits of his men. This was the defeat, or obstruction, which the earl of Essex had intelligence that the forces had met with coming to his relief, and which made him despair of any succour that way.

115. When the earl found himself in this condition, and that within very few days he must be without any provisions for his army, he resolved that sir William Balfore should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole body of horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his foot at Foy, and with them escape by sea. And two foot soldiers of the army, whereof one was a French- Aug. 30. man, came over from them, and assured the King that they intended that night to break through with their horse, which were all then drawn on that side the river and town of Listithiel, and that the foot were to march to Foy, where they should be embarked. This intelligence agreed with what they otherwise received, and was believed as it ought to be; and thereupon order was given that both armies (for that under prince Morrice was looked upon as distinct, and always so quartered) should

[1] ['men,' interlined in the transcript.]

stand to their arms all that night, and if the horse attempted an escape, fall on them from both quarters; the passage between them, through which they must go, being but a musket-shot over; and they could not avoid going very near a very little cottage that was well fortified, in which fifty musketeers were placed. Advertisement was sent to Goring and all the horse; and the orders renewed, which had formerly been given, for the breaking down the bridges, and cutting down the trees near the highway, to obstruct their passage. 1644

116. The effect of all this providence was not such as was reasonably to be expected. The night grew dark and misty, as the enemy could wish; and about three in the morning the whole body of the horse passed with great silence between the armies, and within pistol-shot of the cottage, without so much as one musket discharged at them. At the break of day the horse were discovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot; and there was only at hand the earl of Cleaveland's brigade, the body of the King's horse being at a greater distance. That brigade, to which some other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear, and killed some, and took more prisoners: but strong[1] parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner that they killed and took about a hundred, which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole march. The notice and orders came to Goring when he was in one of his jovial exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as men who took alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights till all the enemy's horse were passed through his quarters, nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who by the tiring of their horses became prisoners, Balfore continued his march even to London, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the King's army and of all his garrisons in the way. Nor was any man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to Aug. 31.

[1] [Altered in the transcript to 'stronger.']

1644 make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known how the superior officer had failed in his duty.

117. The next morning[1], after the horse were gone, the earl drew all his foot together, and quitted Listithiel, and marched towards Foy, having left order for the breaking down that bridge. And his majesty himself from his new fort discerned it, and sent a company of musketeers, who quickly beat those that were left, and thereby preserved the bridge; over which the King presently marched to overtake the rear of the army, which marched so fast, yet in good order, that they left two demi-culverins and two other very good guns, and some ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's horse had been more, (whereof he had only two troops of his guards, which did good service,) it would have proved a bloody day to the enemy. The night coming on, the King lay in the field, his own quarters being so near the enemy that they discharged many cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him when he was at supper. Sunday being the next day, and the
Sept. 1. first day of September, in the morning, Butler, lieutenant colonel to the earl of Essex, who had been taken prisoner at Boconnocke, and was exchanged for an officer of the King's, came from the earl to desire a parley. As soon as he was sent away, the earl embarked himself, with the lord Roberts, and such other officers as he had most kindness for, in a vessel at Foy, and so escaped into Plimmoth; leaving all his army of foot, cannon, and ammunition, to the care of major general Skippon, who was to make as good conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in Plimmoth, he went on board a ship of the royal navy that attended there, and was within few days delivered at London; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him, nor was it less than they could have shewed to him, if he had not only brought back his own army but the King himself likewise with him.

118. The King consented to the parley; upon which a cessa-

[1] [The same morning; Symonds' *Diary*, p. 63.]

tion was concluded, and hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the enemy sent propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their cannon, (which, with the four [1] taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of cannon,) a hundred barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable, and about six thousand arms; which being done, the officers were to have liberty to wear their swords, and to pass with their own money and proper goods; and, to secure them from plunder, they were to have a convoy to Poole or Southampton; all their sick and wounded might stay in Foy till they were recovered, and then have passes to Plimmoth. 1644

119. This agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September; and though it was near the evening before all was finished, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at Listithiel, where they had been long quartered, and in other towns through which they had formerly passed, the inhabitants, especially the women, who pretended to see their own clothes and goods about them which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the soldiers, and more of their wives, who had before behaved themselves with great insolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the King's army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come to Southampton, where the King's convoy left them; to which Skippon gave a large testimony under his hand, that they had carried themselves with great civility towards them, and fully complied with their obligation. Sept. 2.

120 [2]. Whilst the King was in the west, though he had left

[1] [Two words are here erased in the transcript.]

[2] [The text is here taken up from the *Life*, p. 271 and p. 265, for this and the following section.]

1644 Oxford in a very ill state in respect of provisions and fortifications and soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remained there, the town being full of lords, (besides those of the Council,) and of persons of the best quality, with very many ladies, who when not pleased themselves kept others from being so, yet in his absence they who were solicitous to carry on his service concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused provisions of corn to be laid in, in great proportions, assigning the public schools to that purpose, and committing the custody of it to the owners of the corn. They had raised so many volunteers that their guards were well kept; and there was need they should be so; for when both the Parliament armies were before the town, major general Brown, a citizen of London, of good reputation, and a stout man, had been left in Abington with a strong garrison, from whence, being superior in power, he infested Oxford very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the fortification, which in the most important places they brought to a good perfection; and when they had no more apprehension of a siege, Waller being at a distance, and not able to follow the King, and less able to sit down before Oxford, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of.

121. The King had before his departure found they were not satisfied with their governor, and very apprehensive of his rude-
1643 ness and incomplacency. Upon the death of sir William Penny-
Aug. 22. man, who had been governor of Oxford to the great satisfaction of all men, being a very brave and generous person, and who performed all manner of civilities to all sorts of people, as having had a very good education, and well understanding the manners of the Court, (the Queen being then in Oxford,) her majesty, (who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman Catholic,) prevailed with the King
Aug. 23. to confer that charge upon sir Arthur Aston, who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed where he was not known, and very much detested where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford to be beloved by

any, which the King well understood, and was the more troubled 1644
because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore he had given an extraordinary commission to the lords of his Council, to whose authority he [sir A. Aston] was to submit; which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them than he desired to do, being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, stayed in the town; and those, by the King's direction, the lords disposed to assist the governor, and particularly, to take care of the several quarters of the town, one whereof was assigned to each of them. And amongst them, colonel Gage was one, who, having the English regiment in Flanders, had got leave there to make offer of his service to the King, and to that purpose was newly come from thence to Oxford, and was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, both as a soldier and a wise man; of whom there will be hereafter more occasion to enlarge.

122. He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction, his grandfather[1] having been Knight of the Garter. Besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection, having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts, having for many years been much esteemed in that of the archduke and duchess Albert and Isabella, at Brussels, which was a great and very regular Court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman the lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him whilst they looked to be besieged, and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the governor, sir Arthur,

[1] [Sir John Gage, who died April 18, 1556.]

1644 that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of natures and manners as different as men can be.

123[1]. The garrison of Basing House, the seat of the marquis

[1] [The following account of the relief of Basing House is struck out in the MS. of the *Life*, at pp. 271–2, and has not hitherto been printed :—

'The garrison of Basing, which was governed by the marquis of Winchester, it being his own house in Hampshire, had been from the time that the King's army had been in the west besieged by colonel Norton, a gentleman of the best rank and estate in that country, and a stout and diligent officer, who had a body of horse and foot equal to the service ; towards which the animosity the country generally had against Papists, of which profession the marquis was one, contributed all that was desired of them ; and it was now so straitened that their provisions were near an end, and if they were not relieved within twenty days they must be compelled to surrender it. And they had no place to address their complaint to but to Oxford, where the King's Privy Council remained ; and thither the marquis and the principal officers sent the state and condition they were in, very particularly set down ; and the lady marquis of Winchester, wife to the marquis, had some months before brought herself into Oxford, for her more quiet accommodation and to avoid the distresses of a siege, and she was very solicitous to procure relief for her [husband], who was in respect of his religion sure to be ill-treated if he fell into the enemy's hands. The place was of great importance, and was the only garrison the King had in the parts, and every body desired to contribute the utmost they could for the preservation of it. But the succouring and preserving it seemed to be impossible ; it was at so great a distance from Oxford, nearer fifty than forty miles, that if the business could be done the forces which did it could not return to Oxford, by reason of the strength the enemy had very little out of the way ; the enemy before it was very strong, and if they had notice of any party sent to relieve it (which they could not be without, since it would require three days from Oxford) they would be much stronger, by drawing in all the militia of the country, which was at the Parliament's devotion. The principal part of the work was to be done by horse, whereof there were very few at Oxford ; and, in the last place, if it were possible to send a competent party so far, the governor of Abington was a very vigilant officer, and would have present notice of it, and follow them with a greater, or be sure to cut them off in their retreat. So that when the lords brought the matter to be consulted with the governor and the other officers, which they were bound for their own indemnity to do, it seemed to be an attempt of such a nature that in many respects it ought to be despaired of, and, as such, laid aside. Shortly after, colonel Gage came to the Chancellor, who he knew wished very well to the design, and discoursed very reasonably of it, as a thing easy to be brought to pass, and the more easily because it would not be suspected ; that the distance was not much to be considered, since the march need not be made through any towns but by bye and unfrequented ways, and that there were woods in which they might lodge the first night,

of Winchester, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged for the space of above three months by a 1644

and afterwards might march as the Parliament troops, and so be upon the enemy before they were suspected; that it would be an easy matter for the lords and persons of quality who lived in the town to supply one hundred and fifty horse of their own, with riders of their own servants; and concluded, that he would himself undertake the service if he might have such a supply, and five hundred foot which the governor might well allow; and then, if the ports were kept shut but on morning, he would fear no inconvenience from the governor of Abington in his march or his retreat. The Chancellor, who had a great esteem and kindness for Gage, imparted the discourse to the lord Cottington and Secretary Nicholas, with whom he conferred in all things, and they resolved to impart it to the lords, and to pursue the design; though they foresaw they should have great opposition from the governor, Sir Arthur Aston, who was not pleased with the esteem he found all men had for Gage, and crossed all things which were proposed by him. The lords generally approved all that was proposed, and promised to advance the design all they could by sending as many of their servants as they had horses for, and to persuade as many of the gentlemen about the town as they had interest in to do the like. The governor, as they had foreseen, opposed it passionately; declared it was not an enterprise to be undertaken by a man who understood the profession, and that he would not venture one man of his garrison in it. The lords were as positive as he, and made an order by which he was required, at his peril, to appoint 500 of his garrison to march and to be commanded by colonel Gage; which order, when he could not dissuade, he thought fit to obey. And so, there being such a number of horse provided, and put under the command of colonel Webb, an excellent officer, they marched out of the town in the evening at the shutting of the ports, and, having good guides, they passed with so great secrecy that the second day after they were within less than a mile of Basing before the enemy had any notice of them. Colonel Norton drew up his men with very good order, and expected them, and in his own person charged with great gallantry and resolution, and his men bore the first shock well, but soon after retired in haste; so that the garrison, which was strong, making a sally at the same time, and beating the foot out of their trenches, they found themselves quickly at liberty. There were not of the King's men above ten or twelve men lost, whereof one was a servant of the Chancellor's, who waited on him in his chamber, and was much loved by him; the rest were gentlemen; but they lost more horses. Of the enemy there were many more killed, and of both sides more hurt. Colonel Gage gave the enemy no time to rally, but, sending out the horse a pretty distance about the place, went himself with the foot and guides of the garrison to Basingstoke, a good market-town within less than a mile of the garrison; and in the same day, the action with the enemy being in the morning, they got a great quantity of all kind of provision into the castle, so that it was left victualled very well for six weeks. And the night following he marched back with the same care into an adjacent wood, and rested all that day, and then, declining the way he had formerly gone, he returned safely to

1644 conjunction of the Parliament troops of Hampshire and Sussex, under the command of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and now united in this service under the command of Norton, a man of spirit, and of the greatest fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's march into the west, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the west the Council humbly desired his majesty that he would make Basing his way, and thereby relieve it, which his majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time the marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the lords of the Council to provide in some manner for his relief, and not to suffer his person, and a place from whence the rebels received so much prejudice, to fall into their hands. The lady marchioness, his wife, was then in Oxford, and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a lady of great honour and alliance, as sister to the earl of Essex and to the lady marchioness of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon themselves as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work, and so offered to list themselves and their servants in the service.

124. The Council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it, and had several conferences together, and with the officers; in all which the governor too reasonably opposed the design, as full of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any soldier who understood command would expose himself and the King's service to; and protested that he would not suffer any of the small garrison

Oxford, before the week was expired, and with no other loss than is mentioned; to the great satisfaction of the lords, and the universal joy of all the people there, which they expressed all the ways they could, and more in the celebration of Gage's conduct than the governor was pleased with.']

that was under his charge to be hazarded in the attempt. It was very true Basing was near forty miles from Oxford, and, in the way between them, the enemy had a strong garrison of horse and foot at Abington, and as strong at Reading, whose horse every day visited all the highways near, besides a body of horse and dragoons quartered at Newbery; so that it appeared to most men hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford if they should be able to get to Basing: yet new importunities from the marquis, with a positive declaration that he could not defend it above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the rebels were like to grant to his person and to his religion, and new instances from his lady, prevailed with the lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it. 1644

125. In this debate colonel Gage declared, that, though he thought the service full of hazard, especially for the return, yet if the lords would, by listing their own servants, persuade the gentlemen in the town to do the like, and engage their own persons, whereby a good troop or two of horse might be raised, (upon which the principal dependence must be,) he would willingly, if there were nobody else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should give a good account of it: which being offered with great cheerfulness by a person of whose prudence as well as courage they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

126. There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland House, (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon,) the regiment of colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near three hundred; to which as many others joined as made it up four hundred men. The lords mounted their servants upon their own horses; and they, with the volunteers who frankly listed themselves, amounted to a body of two hundred and fifty very good horse, all put under the command of colonel William Webb, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some July 12.

1644 emulation with colonel Gage, and who, upon the Catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small party for so great an action, Gage marched out of
Sept. 9. Oxford in the beginning of the night, and by the morning reached the place[1] where he intended to refresh himself and his troops, which was a wood near Wallingford; from whence he
Sept. 10. despatched an express to sir William Ogle, governor of Winchester, who had made a promise to the lords of the Council that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the siege before Basing, he would send one hundred horse and three hundred foot out of his garrison for their assistance; and a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed at what hour in the morning his party should fall into Basing park, in the rear of the rebels' quarters, whilst Gage himself would fall on the other side; the marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent sallies from the house.

127. After some hours of refreshment in the morning and sending this express to Winchester, the troops marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston, a village out of any great road, where they intended to take more rest that night. They had marched from the time they left Oxford with orange-tawny scarfs and ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament soldiers; and hoped by that artifice to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the besiegers. But the party of horse which was sent before to Aldermaston found there some of the Parliament horse, and, forgetting their orange-tawny scarfs, fell upon them, and killed some, and took six or seven prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended and than the weariness of the soldiers required. About eleven of the clock they begun their march again, which they continued all that night; the horsemen often alighting that the foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however, they could not but be extremely weary and surbated.

[1] [Cholsey; Walker's *Hist. Disc.*, p. 90.]

128. Between four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning, it having been Monday night that they left Oxford, they arrived within a mile of Basing; where an officer, sent from sir William Ogle, came to them, to let them know that he durst not send his troops so far, in regard many of the enemy's horse lay between Winchester and Basing. This broke all the colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and, instead of dividing his forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the Winchester forces had complied with their obligation or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved now to fall on jointly with all his body in one place; in order to which he commanded the men to be ranged in battalions, and rid to every squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every man to tie a white tape ribbon, or handkerchief, above the elbow of their right arm, and gave them the word *St. George;* which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the marquis, lest in his sallies their men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other. 1644 Sept. 11.

129. Thus they marched towards the house, colonel Webb leading the right wing, and lieutenant colonel Bunkly the left of the horse, and Gage himself the foot. They had not marched far, when at the upper end of a large campaign field, upon a little rising of an hill, they discerned a body of five cornets of horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the colonel must pass between two hedges lined very thick with musketeers; from whom the horse very courageously bore a smart volley, and then charged the enemy's horse so gallantly that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, they gave ground, and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The foot disputed the business much better, and, being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works, which they did not abandon in less than two hours;

1644 and then a free entrance into the house was gained on that side, where the colonel only stayed to salute the marquis, and to put in the ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve barrels of powder and twelve hundred weight of match; and immediately marched with his horse and foot to Basingstoke, a good market-town two miles from the house, leaving one hundred foot to be led by some officers of the garrison to the town of Basing, a village but a mile distant. In Basingstoke they found store of wheat, malt, oats, salt, bacon, cheese, and butter; as much of which was all that day sent to the house as they could find carts or horses to transport, together with fourteen barrels of powder and some muskets, and forty or fifty head of cattle, with above one hundred sheep: whilst the other party, that went to Basing town, beat the enemy that was quartered there; after having killed forty or fifty of them, some fled into the church, where they were quickly taken prisoners; and, among them, two captains, Jarvise and Jephson, the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes, who were carried prisoners to Basing House; the rest, who besieged that side, being fled into a strong fort which they had raised in the park. The colonel spent that and the next day in sending all manner of provisions into the house, and then, reasonably computing that the garrison was well provided for two months, he thought of his retreat
Sept. 12. to Oxford: which it was time to do; for, besides that Norton had drawn all his men together who had been dismayed, with all the troops which lay quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the house more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewise well informed by the persons he had employed that the enemy from Abington had lodged themselves at Aldermaston, and those from Reading and Newbery in two other villages upon the river Kennet, over which he was to pass.

130. Hereupon, that he might take away the apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out orders, which he was sure would come into the enemy's hands, to two or three villages next the house, that they should, by the next day

noon, send such proportions of corn into Basing House as were mentioned in the warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a thousand horse and dragoons sent to fire the towns. This being done, and all his men drawn together about eleven of the clock at night, Thursday, the second night after he came thither, the marquis giving him two or three guides who knew the country exactly, he marched from Basing without sound of drum or trumpet, and passed the Kennet, undiscovered, by a ford near a bridge which the enemy had broke down, and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the horse taking the foot *en croupe;* and then, marching by-ways, in the morning they likewise passed over the Thames, at a ford little more than a mile from Reading[1]; and so escaped the enemy, and got before night to Wallingford; where he securely rested, and refreshed his men that night, and the next day arrived safe at Oxford; having lost only two captains and two or three other gentlemen and common men, in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously. What number the enemy lost could not be known, but believed to be many, besides above one hundred prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed by enemies as well as friends that it was as soldierly an action as had been performed in the war on either side, and redounded very much to the reputation of the commander.

1644 Sept. 13. Sept. 14.

131. The next day after the army of Essex was gone and dissolved, the King returned to his quarters at Boconnocke, and stayed there only a day to refresh his men; having sent, the day before, Greenevill, with the Cornish horse and foot, towards Plimmoth, to join with Goring in the pursuit of Balfore, and that body of horse; which, by passing over the bridge near Salt-Ash, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess Salt-Ash, which the enemy had quitted and left therein eleven pieces of cannon, with some arms and ammunition; which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with Goring; who thereby, and for want of those foot, excused his not fighting with Balfore when he was within distance, but

Sept. 3. Sept. 2.

[1] [At Pangbourne, (Walker's *Hist. Disc.*, p. 95) six miles from Reading.]

1644 contented himself with sending a commanded party to follow his rear; and in that too eager a pursuit, captain Samuel Wenman,
Sept. 4. a young man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the son of a very wise and eminent father[1], was lost, to the irreparable damage of a noble family. Thus Balfore, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred miles in the King's quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

132. The fear and apprehension of the enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur began, that the King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that body of foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy as well as to have laid down their arms, and so have made both officers and soldiers to become prisoners of war: by which the enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another army. But they who undertook to censure that action, how great a number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the King's army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be. Whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered Cornwall, which was in the beginning of August,
Aug. 4. and when a party of his majesty's horse surprised and seized the earl of Essex's own lieutenant colonel, and many other officers of name at Boconnocke, before his majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say, whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of September, when the articles were made, and when the number of the foot who laid down their arms was in truth superior to the King's, (as it will appear anon,) when his army marched out of Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was on the other side, when their horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the King's horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with their horse, their cannon only being

[1] [Sir Francis Wenman.]

left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily and as undiscerned have done, the King's army, in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would, through those enclosed parts, narrow lanes, and deep ditches, in Devon and Somerset, have been able to have done them little harm. Besides, the King very well knew at the time the articles were made, that Middleton, notwithstanding all his affronts, was then come to Tiverton; and therefore there can be no doubt that his majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less prudence than clemency. 1644

133[1]. After this victory, the King thought fit to renew his offer of peace, and sent a message to the two Houses of Parliament to desire that there might be a treaty to that purpose; which message was sent by a trumpet to the earl of Essex, after his repair to London, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was persuaded that he would in his way (as it was not much out of it) look upon Plimmoth; for so far it might be presumed that the Cornish troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest[2], would attend him: and if he could by appearing before it become master of it, which was not thought improbable, he would return to Oxford in great triumph, and leave the west throughly reduced; for then Lyme could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so, having sent a summons to the town, and received a rude answer to it. For the earl of Essex had left the lord Roberts governor in that town; a man of a sour and a surly nature, a great *opiniastre*, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away; having committed the blocking up of Plimmoth to sir Richard Sept. 8. Sept. 11. Sept. 12. Sept. 14.

[1] [This section is from the *Life*, p. 269.]

[2] ['it being now about the middle of August,' *struck out.*]

1644 Greenevill, a man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town; beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been long in possession of her own fortune by virtue of a decree in Chancery many years before the troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the lord Roberts and him there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them; but such as were taken of either side between them were put to the sword, or, which was worse, to the halter.

134[1]. Since there will be often occasion to mention this gentleman, sir Richard Greenevill, in the ensuing discourse, and because many men believed that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit in this place to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the King's service some months before the time we are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy family in Cornwall, which had, in several ages, produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the Crown; and was himself younger brother (though in his nature or humour not of kin to him) to the brave sir Bevil Greenevill, who so courageously lost his life in the battle of Lansdowne. Being a younger brother, and a very young man, he went into the Low Countries, to learn the profession of a soldier, to which he had dedicated himself, under the greatest general of that age, prince Morrice, and in the regiment of the lord Vere, who was general of all the English. In that service he was looked upon as a man of courage, and a diligent officer, in the quality of a captain, to which he attained after few years' service. About this time, in the

[1] [The MS. of the *Hist.* is here resumed for §§ 134–166.]

end of the reign of king James, the war broke out between 1644
England and Spain; and in the expedition to Cales this gentleman served as major to a regiment of foot, and continued in the same command in the war that soon after followed against France; and at the Isle of Ree insinuated himself into the very good grace of the duke of Buckingham, who was the general in that invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence was made colonel of a regiment, with a general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it.

135. His credit every day increased with the duke, who, out of the generosity of his nature, (as a most generous person he was,) resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow[1] to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great dowry by her husband, a younger brother of the earl of Suffolk, yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own near Plimmoth, and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked upon as the richest marriage of the West. This lady, by the duke's credit, sir Richard Greenevill (for he was now made a knight and baronet[2]) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate upon the borders of his own country, and where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being shortly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, [he] had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition, nor so great as he upon common reports had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife; who, being a woman of a haughty and

[1] [Mary, daughter and heiress of sir John Fitz, of Fitzford, Devon, widow of sir Charles Howard, son of Thomas, first earl of Suffolk, who died in 1622; she married sir R. Greenville, as her fourth husband, in Oct. 1629, and had issue a son and daughter, but was divorced about the beginning of 1632. *Cal. of Dom. S. P.* 1633–4, p. 158; 1638–9, p. 286; 1639–40, pp. 414–5.]

[2] [Knighted 21 June, 1627, at Portsmouth, when about to sail with the duke of Buckingham. Dugdale MS. (in the Bodl. Libr.) R., p. 234.]

1644 imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him, and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unsociable contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate as the sole master of it, without allowing her out of her own any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licenses in her own house which to women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself from him, and was with all kindness received into that family in which she had before been married, and was always very much respected.

136. Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon. For it appeared now, that she had before her marriage with him settled her entire fortune so absolutely upon the earl of Suffolk, that the present right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begat a suit in the Chancery between sir Richard Greenevill and the then earl of Suffolk, before the lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve sir R. Greenevill in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the earl; which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that, being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the earl appealed for reparation to the court of Star Chamber, where sir Richard was decreed to pay three[1] thousand pounds for damages to him, and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand[1] pounds to the King, who gave the fine likewise to the earl[2]: so that sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet in execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all men

[1] [£4000, in Candlemas term, 1632. *Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1633–4, p. 158.]
[2] [*Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1631–33, p. 242.]

to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman. 1644

137. After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles he made his escape out of the prison [1], and, transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the Parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom; and when he heard that many decrees which had been made in that time by the court of Star Chamber were repealed, and the persons grieved absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned and petitioned to have his cause heard; for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion brake out in Ireland. Amongst the first troops which were raised and transported for the suppression thereof by the Parliament, (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution thereof,) sir Richard Greenevill, upon the fame of being a good officer, was sent over with a very good troop of horse, and was major of the earl of Leicester's own regiment of horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the Irish; which were of so many kinds, upon both sexes, young and old, hanging old men who were bedrid, because they would not discover where their money was that he believed they had, and old women, some of quality, after he had plundered them and found less than he expected, that can hardly be believed, though notoriously known to be true. 1640 Dec.

138. After the cessation was made in Ireland, he pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament for declaring so heartily against that cessation; and sir William Waller being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the west, after the battle of Al[re]sford, sir Richard Greenevill was either commended to, or invited by, him, to command the horse under him [2]; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many

[1] [*Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1639–40, p. 73.]

[2] [It was resolved by the Commons on 20 Dec. 1643 that a regiment of 500 horse be raised to be commanded by Greenville under Waller.]

1644 insinuations how much his interest in Devonshire and Cornwall would advance theirs. He received from the Parliament a great sum of money for the making his equipage, in which he always affected more than ordinary lustre; and sir William Waller communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire friend, and an officer of that eminence from whose advice he meant to govern his own conduct.

139. His first and principal design was to surprise Basing House by a correspondence with the lord Edward Pawlett, brother to the marquis of Winchester, and then with him as unsuspected as a brother ought to be. And for the better execution of this, sir Richard Greenevill was sent before with the body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed a rendezvous for the horse at Baggshott, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage, which was very noble, a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants: and with those, when he came to Stanes, he left the Baggshott
March 2. road, and marched directly to Reading, where the King's garrison then was, and thence without delay to Oxford, where
March 8. he was very graciously received by the King, and the more, that he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole design for the surprise of Basing; upon which the King sent an express immediately to the marquis, with all the particular informations, who thereupon seized upon his brother and the other conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and the combination. The marquis prevailed with the King that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place, which without it had been infallibly lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the person of the discoverer; upon whom the Parliamant thundered out all those reproaches which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to, and denounced all those judgments upon

him of attainder, confiscation, and incapacity of pardon, which 1644
they used to do against those who they thought had done them most mischieve, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his proceeding against those of their party who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded.

140. From Oxford he went quickly into the west, before he had any command there, declaring that he would assist colonel Digby; who, upon prince Morrice his departure from thence with his army, was left to block up Plimmoth, which he did with much courage and soldierly ability. And to him he had letters from the King, that he should put sir Richard Greenevill into the possession of his wife's estate that lay within his quarters, and which were justly liable to a sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party; which the colonel punctually did. And so he came after so many years to be again possessed of all that estate, which was what he most set his heart upon.

141. One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the colonel, and dined with him; and the colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait upon him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. And in his return home he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with burdens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest, which, to save his own life, he was contented to do: so strong his appetite was to those executions which he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

142. Shortly after, upon a sally made with horse and foot from the town, colonel Digby, (who, besides the keenness of his courage, had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than those of his family who had sharper parts,) charging them with such vigour that routed and drave them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound with a rapier in the eye, which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was

1644 brought off by his soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the air, and never did the effects of the wound. And upon this accident sir Richard Greenevill was placed in that command, which he executed for some months; until, upon the advance of the earl of Essex, he was compelled to retire into Cornwall, where we found him at the King's coming thither.

143. This so large excursion upon so private a person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's service: but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and [that] the council then about the Prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original, nature, manners, and disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

144. The King was now most intent to return into his winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself, and in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even ready to come out of London, and that Middleton was retired from Tiverton to join with him; that they had sent for the earl of Manchester to march towards the west with his victorious army: so that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to fight another battle before he could reach Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, his army, that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches, above six months together, required some rest and refreshment: the foot were without clothes and shoes; and the horse in such ill humour, that without money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King marched

from Plimmoth, himself, attended only by his own troop and the principal officers of the Court, went to Exciter, appointing the army by slow marches to follow, and to be quartered at Tiverton and the other towns adjacent; where they arrived on the one and twentieth of September. 1644 Sept. 17. Sept. 21.

145. His majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his army. His own body of foot, which when he entered Cornwall were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and prince Morrice's, which consisted of full four thousand and five hundred when the King first viewed them at Kirton [Crediton], was not now half the number. Of all the forces under Greenevill, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the name of an army, there were only five hundred foot and three hundred horse left with him for the blocking of Plimmoth; the rest were dwindled away; except, (which was his usual artifice,) he had encouraged them to stay for some time in Cornwall, and then to repair to him; as many of them did, for his forces suddenly increased; and the truth is, few of the Cornish marched outward with the King. The horse[s] were harassed, and many dead in the marches, which contributed to the discontent of the riders; so that great provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the commissioners appointed in Devonshire for those affairs, his majesty was in few days supplied with two thousand pounds in money, which was presently distributed amongst the horse, and three thousand suits of clothes, with good proportions of shoes and stockings, which were likewise delivered to the foot. What remained yet wanting for the horse and foot was promised to meet them upon their first entrance into Somersetshire, where the commissioners of that county had undertaken they should be ready.

146. There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for before the King left Exciter; which was, the blocking up the troops of Lyme, which were grown more insolent by the success they had had, and made incursions sometimes even to the walls of Exciter; and to restrain a stronger

1644 garrison in Taunton. For when prince Morrice raised his siege
June 15. from Lyme, he had very unhappily drawn out the garrison of Taunton, which consisted of eight hundred men, under the command of sir John Stowell, a person of that notorious courage and fidelity that he would never have given it up, and left only fourscore men in the castle, to be kept by a lieutenant, who
July 8. basely gave it up as soon as Essex in his passage demanded it; for which he afterwards deservedly suffered death. And it was now, by the garrison [the earl[1]] put into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the inhabitants, (in both which they excelled,) become a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous county.

147. To remedy the first of these, some troops which depended upon the garrison of Exciter were assigned, which were to receive orders from sir John Berkely, governor thereof; who
Sept. 17. was the more vacant for that service by the reduction of Barnstable, which was done during the King's stay at Exciter. The other, of Taunton, was more unhappily committed to colonel Windham, the governor of Bridgewater, who, though a gentleman of known courage and unquestionable fidelity, by the divisions and factions in the country was not equal to the work. To despatch all this the King stayed not a full week at Exciter,
Sept. 23. but hastened his march to Chard in Somersetshire, where he stayed longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached Oxford before the enemy was in a conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented except he would have left the money and clothes which the commissioners of Somersetshire promised, and did deliver there at last, behind him; which would not have been grateful to the army, which had not had much rest.

Sept. 30. 148. It was the last of September that the King marched from Chard, and quartered that night at a house of the lord
Oct. 1. Pawlett's, where prince Rupert met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the north, and that he had left about two thousand horse, under the command of sir Marmaduke Langdale, which he might as well have brought

[1] ['he,' MS.]

with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his western expedition. Prince Rupert presently returned to Bristol, with orders as soon as was possible to march with those northern horse under sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot which were in Wales under colonel Charles Gerard, into Glostershire; by which the enemy might be obliged to divide their force, which if they should still keep united, the prince from thence would be able to join with the King: but these orders were not executed in time. The King's army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred foot and about four thousand horse; and Waller was already come with his horse to Blandford; but some of his troops being beaten up by those of the King's, he retired to Shaftsbury and those parts of Wiltshire which are adjacent. It concerned the King very much before he left those parts to relieve Portland Castle, which had been now besieged from the time of the earl of Essex his march that way. And to that purpose he marched to Sherborne; where he stayed six days too long, though in that time he raised the siege before Portland Castle, if he had not hoped by that delay that his nephew prince Rupert would have been well advanced in his march. Sir Lewis Dyves was left with his own regiment of one hundred and fifty old soldiers, and some horse in Sherborne Castle, and made commander in chief of Dorsetshire, in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity, and the very good affection of that county, to raise men enough to recover Waymoth: and he did perform all that could reasonably be expected from him. His majesty had a great desire, in his march to Oxford, to relieve Donnington Castle by Newbery, and Basing, which was again besieged by almost their whole army; and then to send a good party to relieve Banbury, which had been close besieged by colonel John Fynes, (another son of the lord Say,) with all the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry, and bravely defended by sir William Compton full three months, but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

1644 Oct. 2.

149. In order to perform all this, the King came to Salisbury Oct. 15.

1644 upon the 15th of October; where he understood that Waller lay at Andover with his troops; that Manchester was advanced as far as Reading, with five thousand horse and foot [and] four and twenty pieces of ordnance, and that four regiments of the train-bands of London were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the horse and foot of the earl of Essex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting orders to join with the rest. This might very well have disposed his majesty to have hastened his march to Oxford, which would have made a fair conclusion of the campania; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King received letters from prince Rupert, in which he declared that it was not possible for him to bring up his troops so soon as his majesty expected, and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both Donnington Castle and Banbury might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed Goring, that he earnestly advised the King to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat Waller, who lay at Andover, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand horse and dragoons; which the King, upon the unanimous consent of the council, consented to.

150. He had left all the cannon that he had taken from Essex in Exciter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury, at Langford, a house of the lord Gorges, where was a garrison of one hundred men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were left at Wilton, the house of the earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them; and the King appointed the rendezvous for the army to be the next morning, by seven of the clock, near Clarendon Park; and good guards were set at all the avenues of the city, to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose. And if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was, (though his majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time,) that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under prince Morrice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not

begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of 1644
Andover before Waller had any notice of their motion; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town, leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the King's van charged, and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the King quartered that night at Andover. Oct. 18.
And the scattering this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the King's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them if they put themselves in his way, and so resolved to raise the siege of Donnington Castle, which was little out of his way to Oxford; and to that purpose sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbery, where he stayed with his army till they came up to him, and then marched together to Newbery, within a mile of Donnington.

151. Donnington Castle had been, when Middleton from thence pursued his march into the west, left to the care of § 113.
colonel Horton, who for some time was contented to block it up; but then, finding his summons neglected, and that they had store of provisions within, and having an addition of forces from Abington and Reading, he resolved to besiege it; which he began to do upon the 29th of September, and made his Sept. 29.
approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbery, and plied it so with his great cannon that, after twelve days' continual shooting, he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so humbled the governor and the garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another Oct. 7.

1644 summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives, if they gave up the castle before
Oct. 9. Wednesday at ten of the clock in the morning; but that if his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no man amongst them have his life spared. The governor made himself merry with his high and threatening language, [and] sent him word he would keep the place, and would neither give nor receive quarter. At this time the earl of Manchester himself with his forces came to Newbery; and receiving no better answer to his own summons than Horton had done before, he resolved to storm it the next day. But his soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot service, and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other side of the castle, and began their approaches by saps; when the governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant colonel, who commanded in chief, with many soldiers, shot their chief cannoneer through the head, brought away their cannon baskets and many arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next night they finished their battery, and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the approach of the King's army, and
Oct. 19. thereupon they drew off their ordnance; and their train-bands of London being not yet come to them, the earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been in nineteen days above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls, without any other damage to the garrison than the beating down some old parts thereof.

Oct. 22. 152. When the King came to Newbery, the governor of Donnington[1] attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension or dread of the enemy, that his majesty thought not of prosecuting his journey towards Oxford before he should relieve both Basing and Banbury. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want

[1] [Col. John Boys.]

of victuals, they having already eaten most of their horses, his majesty was well content that the earl of Northampton, who had the supreme government of that garrison, where he had left his brave brother his lieutenant, should, with three regiments of horse, attempt the relieving it; letters being sent to Oxford that colonel Gage with some horse and foot from thence should meet him, which they did punctually, and came time enough to Banbury, before they were expected: yet they found the rebels' horse (superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce, as if upon the advantage of that ground they meant to fight. But two or three shots, made at them by a couple of drakes brought from Oxford by colonel Gage, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their cannon and baggage had been sent out of the town the night before; and their foot, being above seven hundred, ran out of Banbury upon the first advance of the King's troops. Colonel Gage with the foot went directly to the castle, that they might be at liberty; whilst the earl of Northampton followed the horse so closely that they found it best to make a stand, where he furiously charged and routed them, and, notwithstanding they had lined some hedges with musketeers, pursued them till they were scattered and totally dispersed, their general, young Fynes, continuing his flight till he came to Coventry, without staying. The foot for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the enclosures before colonel Gage could come up. But there were taken in the chase one field-piece and three waggons of arms and ammunition; many slain; and two officers of horse, with near one hundred other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and two hundred horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one captain and nine troopers; some officers and others being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the siege was raised from Banbury; and it had continued full thirteen weeks[1]; so notably defended, that, though they had but two horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a summons to be sent to them; and it was now

1644

Oct. 25.

[1] [It was begun July 19.]

1644 relieved the very day of the month upon which both town and castle had been rendered to the King two years before, being the 26th of October [1].

153. Though the relief of Banbury succeeded to wish, yet the King paid dear for it soon after. The very day after that service was performed, colonel Hurry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the Parliament, and is well mentioned in the transactions of the last year for having quitted them and performed some signal service to the King, had in the west, about the time the King entered into Cornwall, in a discontented humour, (which was very natural to him,) desired a pass to go beyond the seas; and so quitted the service, and, instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the earl of Manchester's army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's army, and a description of the persons and customs of those who principally commanded. So that as they well knew the constitution and weakness of the King's army, so they had advertisement of the earl of Northampton's being gone with three regiments of horse to the relief of Banbury. Whereupon, within two days after, all those forces which had been under Essex and Waller being united with Manchester, with whom likewise the train-bands of London were now joined, (all which made up a body of above eight thousand foot; the number of their horse being not inferior,) advanced towards the King, who had not half the number before the departure of the earl of Northampton, and stayed still at Newbery with a resolution to expect the return of that earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for Basing; not believing that the enemy could be so soon united.

154. It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford when the whole body of the enemy's army, which had received positive orders to fight the King as soon as was possible, appeared as near as Thacham; so that his majesty, not at all dismayed, resolved to stand upon the defensive only, hoping that, upon the advantage of the town of Newbery and the

[1] [The surrender was on 27 Oct. 1642; the siege was now raised on 25 Oct.]

river, the enemy would not speedily advance, and that in the 1644
mean time, by being compelled to lodge in the field, which grew now to be very cold, whilst his army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King quartered in the town of Newbery, and placed strong guards on the south of the town: but the greatest part of the army was placed towards the enemy's quarters, in a good house belonging to Mr. Doleman at Shaw, and in a village near it, defended by the river, that runs under Donnington Castle, and in a house between that village and Newbery, about which a work was cast up, and at a mill upon the river Kynet; all which lay almost east from the town. Directly north from thence were two open fields, where most of the horse stood with the train of artillery, and about half a mile west was the village of Speen, and beyond it a small heath. In this village lay all prince Morrice's foot, and some horse; and at the entrance of the heath a work was cast up which cleared the heath. And in this posture they had many skirmishes with the enemy for two days without losing any ground, and the enemy was still beaten off with loss.

155. On Sunday morning, the 27th of October, by the break Oct. 27.
of day, one thousand of the earl of Manchester's army, with the train-bands of London, came down the hill; and passed the river that was by Shaw, and, undiscovered, forced that guard which should have kept the pass that was near the house that was intrenched, where sir Bernard Ashly lay, and who instantly, with a good body of musketeers, fell upon the enemy, and not only routed them but compelled them to rout two other bodies of their own men, and who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the enemy were slain, and many drowned in the river, and above two hundred arms taken. There continued all that day very warm skirmishes in several parts, the enemy's army having almost encompassed the King's, and with much more loss to them than to the King; till about three of the clock in the afternoon Waller, with his own and the forces which had been under Essex, fell upon the quarter at Speen, and passed the river, which was not well defended by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot,

1644 very many of them being gone off from their guard, as never imagining that they would at that time of day have attempted a quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the river, they marched in good order, with very great bodies of foot winged with horse, towards the heath, from whence the horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retired; being in truth much overpowered, by reason the major part of them, upon confidence of the security of the pass, were gone to provide forage for their horse.

156. By this means the enemy possessed themselves of the ordnance which had been planted there, and of the village of Speen; the foot which were there retired to the hedge next the large field between Speen and Newbery, which they made good. At the same time, the right wing of the enemy's horse advanced under the hill of Speen, with one hundred musketeers in their van, and came into the open field, where a good body of the King's horse stood, and which at first received them in some disorder; but the Queen's regiment of horse, commanded by sir John Cansfeild, charged them with so much gallantry that he routed that great body, which then fled, and he had the execution of them near half a mile, wherein most of the musketeers were slain and very many of the horse; insomuch that that whole wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the prince, and many of the lords and other his servants, in the middle of that field, and could not by his own presence restrain those horse, which at the first approach of the enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving ground. So that if sir John Cansfeild had not in that article of time given them that brisk charge, by which other troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the King himself had been in very great danger.

157. At the same time the left wing of the enemy's horse advanced towards the north side of the great field; but before they got thither Goring, with the earl of Cleaveland's brigade, charged them so vigorously that he forced them back in great confusion over a hedge; and, following them over that hedge, was charged by another fresh body, which he defeated like-

wise, and slew very many of the enemy upon the place, 1644
having[1] not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the shot of three bodies of their foot in their pursuit and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the earl of Cleaveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred horse and three thousand foot of those under the earl of Manchester, advanced with great resolution upon Shaw house and the field adjacent; which quarter was defended by sir Jacob Ashly and colonel George Lysle, and the house by lieut. col. Page. They came singing of psalms; and at first drove forty musketeers from a hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently charged by sir John Browne, with the prince his regiment of horse, who did good execution upon them, till he saw another body of their horse ready to charge him, which made him retire to the foot in Mr. Doleman's garden, which flanked that field, and gave fire upon those horse, whereof very many fell; and the horse thereupon wheeling about, sir John Browne fell upon their rear, and killed many, and kept that ground all the day; when the reserve of foot, commanded by colonel Thelwell, galled their foot with several volleys, and then fell on them with the but-ends of their muskets, till they had not only beaten them from the hedges but quite out of the field; leaving two drakes, some colours, and many dead bodies, behind them. At this time a great body of their foot attempted Mr. Doleman's house, but were so well entertained by lieut. col. Page, that, after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such confusion that he pursued them from the house with a notable execution, insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two drakes out of the field to the house, the enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that quarter.

158. It was now night; for which neither party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the enemy only had prevailed, thought that his army had suffered likewise in all

[1] ['and having,' MS.]

1644 other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of Speen, and had taken all the ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them before the next morning to have encompassed him round; towards which they might have gone far if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

159. Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his majesty, with the prince and those lords who had been about him all the day and his regiment of guards, retired into the field under Donnington Castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the huge advantage the enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his forces were beaten from either of the posts. That resolution was, to march away in the night towards Wallingford; and to that purpose all the carriages and great ordnance had been that morning drawn under Donnington Castle; and so he sent orders to all the officers to draw off their men to the same place; and, receiving intelligence at that time that prince Rupert was come or would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there but presently be able to join with his army,
Oct. 28. his majesty himself, with the prince and about three hundred horse, made haste thither, and found prince Rupert there, and thence made what haste they could back towards Oxford. The
Nov. 1. truth is, the King's army was not in so ill a condition as the King conceived it to have been; that party which were in the field near Speen kept their ground very resolutely, and, although it was a fair moon-shine night, the enemy, that was very near them and much superior in number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the enemy that had been so roughly treated at Shaw, having received succour of a strong body of horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the foot there, but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their hill, where they stood still. And this was the last action between the armies. For about ten of the clock at night, all the army, horse, foot, and cannon, upon the King's orders, drew forth their several guards to the heath about Donnington

Castle ; in which they left most of their wounded men, with all 1644
their ordnance, ammunition, and carriages ; and then prince Morrice and the other officers marched in good order away to Wallingford, committing the bringing up the rear to sir Humphrey Bennett (who had behaved himself very signally that day,) who with his brigade of horse marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the enemy, who in so light a night could not but know of the retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so ill. By the morning, all the army, foot as well as horse, arrived at Wallingford ; where having refreshed a little, they marched to Oxford, without seeing any party of the enemy that looked after them.

160. Many made a question which party had the better of the day ; and either was well enough with their success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the enemy than of the King's army ; whereof were missing only sir William St. Leger, lieut. col. to the duke's regiment of foot, lieut. col. Topping, and lieut. col. Leake, both officers of horse, who were all three slain, with not above one hundred common soldiers, in all places. The earl of Braynford, general of the army, was wounded on the head ; sir John Cansfeild, sir John Greenevill, and lieut. col. Page, were wounded ; but all recovered. The officers of the enemy's side were never talked of, being for the most part of no better families than their common soldiers. But it was reasonably computed by those who saw the action in all places that there could not be so few as one thousand who were dead upon the place : but because the King's army quitted the field, and marched away in the night, the other side thought themselves masters, and the Parliament celebrated their victory with their usual triumphs ; though within few days after they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by [what[1]] accident was not imagined, that the earl of Braynford remained that night in the castle by reason of the hurt in his head, and so sent colonel Hurry to him to persuade him to give up the castle, and to

[1] ['one,' MS.]

1644 make him other large offers; all which the general rejected with the indignation that became [him]. And no more shall be said of the colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his life for, and in, the King's service, which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.

161. The next day, when they knew that the King's army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of Newbery; and then drew up their whole army before
Oct. 30. Donnington Castle, and summoned the governor to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one stone upon another; to which the governor made no other reply than that he was not bound to repair it, but however he would, by God's help, keep
Oct. 31. the ground. Afterwards, seeing his obstinacy, they offered him to march away with their arms and all things belonging to the
Nov. 1. garrison; and, when that moved not, that he should carry all the cannon and ammunition with him: to all which he answered, that he wondered they would not be satisfied with so many answers that he had sent, and desired them to be assured that he would not go out of the castle till the King sent him order so to do. Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault it; but the officer who commanded the party being killed, with some few of the soldiers, they retired, and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbery, in great faction amongst them[selves,] every man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done and had been left undone in the whole day's service.

162. The King met prince Rupert, as he expected, with colonel Gerard and sir Marmaduke Langdale, and made all the haste he could to join those forces with his own army, so that he might march back to Newbery, and disengage his cannon and carriages. By the way he met the earl of Northampton, and those regiments which had relieved Banbury; and having with marvellous expedition caused a new train of artillery to be formed, he brought his army again to a rendezvous on
Nov. 6. Bowlington Green, where, with the addition of those forces, and some foot which he drew out of Oxford under the command of

colonel Gage, it appeared to be full six thousand foot and five thousand horse; with which he marched to Wallingford, and within a day more than a week after he had left Donnington Castle found himself there again, in so good a posture that he resolved not to decline fighting with the enemy, but would first be possessed of his cannon, and put some provision into the castle; which he accomplished without any opposition. 1644 Nov.

163. The enemy's army lay still at Newbery, perplexed with the divisions and factions amongst their own officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a quarter of their horse was beaten up. The next morning the King put his army in battalia; prince Rupert, (who was now declared general,) led the van, and got possession of the heath on the back-side of the castle; from which a small party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep and the way narrow. On that heath the army was drawn up about noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the enemy appearing, [they] marched by the castle over the river by a mill, and two fords below it, without any opposition, and thence drew into the large field between Speen and Newbery, which was thought a good place to expect the enemy; who in the mean time had drawn a great body of their horse and foot into the other field towards Shaw, and had made breastworks and batteries on the back-side of Newbery; which town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming that they now having the warmer lodging might better attack the King after his men had lain a night or two in the fields; it being now the ninth of November, but fair for that season. Some light skirmishes passed between the horse; but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his council together, who were unanimous in opinion that, since he had relieved the castle and put sufficient provisions into it, and that it was in his power to draw off his ordnance and ammunition from thence, he had done his business; and if any honour had been lost the other day, it was regained now, by his having passed his army over the river in the face of theirs, and offered them battle, which they durst not Nov. 9.

1644 accept. Upon which the King resolved to attempt them no farther, but gave orders to retire in their view, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the same way he came over the river. And so the King lay that night in Donnington Castle, and all the army about him.

164. The King had not yet done all he meant to do before he took up his winter quarters, and was willing that the enemy should have an opportunity to fight with him if they desired it: and therefore on the Sunday morning the tenth of
Nov. 10. November his majesty marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington, over a fair campania, to Lamborne; in which march some of the enemy's horse attempted his rear, but were repulsed with loss, many being slain and some taken prisoners. There the King quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill lodging they had endured at Donnington, having sent some persons of great reputation and interest to Marlborough, to make large provisions for him and his army. And then, since he heard the
Nov. 12. enemy lay still at Newbery, he marched to Marlborough, where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distressed; the enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely from the time that Gage had relieved it. And he had a great mind to do it with his whole army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle: but upon full debate it was concluded that the safest way would be to do it by a strong party; that one thousand horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a bag of corn or other provisions, and to march so as to be at Basing House the next morning after they parted from the army, and then every trooper to cast down his bag, and then to make their retreat as well as they might: and colonel Gage, (who had so good success before,) was appointed to command this party, which he cheerfully undertook to do. And the better to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army, and from thence to despatch
Nov. 17. that party: and so his majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbery. The enemy was in the mean

time marched from thence to Basing, which they thought 1644
would upon the sight of their whole army presently have yielded; but finding the marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force Nov. 13.
from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage Nov. 14.
came thither; so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His majesty then marched to Farringdon, with some hope to have surprised Nov. 22.
Abington in his way, but he found it too well provided; and so, after he had considered where to quarter his horse, which had hitherto had their head quarter at Abington and those places which were now under the power of that governor, he returned to Oxford; where he arrived, to the universal joy, on the three Nov. 23.
and twentieth of November; a season of the year fit for all the troops to be in their winter quarters.

165. [1] The King was exceedingly pleased to find how much the fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the lords, and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the governor, sir Arthur Aston,

[1] [The following passage, hitherto omitted, corresponding to this section, occurs in the MS. of the *Life*, p. 272, after the account of the relief of Basing, as given above, pp. 408–10, *n.* 'This, and some other actions, the lords performed in the absence of the King, who was very much pleased at his return to find the fortifications so much advanced, and every thing well done, much whereof he was graciously pleased to impute to the Chancellor, of whose particular diligence many of the lords made very kind reports to his majesty. And the governor, Sir Arthur Aston, having, some short time before the King's return, in the managing his horse before some ladies in the fields, caused him to fall, and [having] thereby broken his leg, which he was shortly after compelled to cut off, and so was confined to his bed with little hope of being able to perform any service in the field, his majesty[2], being well informed how ingrateful his manners and behaviour had been towards the lords in his absence, was resolved to remove him from that government; and thereupon, with all the circumstances of grace and regard, and sending him a warrant for a pension of £1000 *per an.* for his life, he removed him from that employment, and, to the general satisfaction of all men, he made Sir Harry Gage (whom he had knighted) governor of Oxford; who lived little afterward, but going with a party to take a view of Abbington, which thorn he had a great mind to remove, he was shot by a musket bullet at random through the heart, and fell down dead, to the great grief of all who knew him.']

[2] ['and his majesty,' MS.]

1644 having some months before in the managing his horse in the fields caused him to fall, [and having][1] in the fall broken his
Dec. 7. leg, and shortly after been compelled to cut it off, so that, if he recovered at all, (which was very doubtful,) he could not be fit for any active service, his majesty resolved to confer that
Dec. 25. government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a warrant
1645. for one thousand pound[s] a year pension for his life, he gave
April 3. him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all men, he conferred that government upon colonel Gage, whom
Nov. 1. he had before knighted. Sir Arthur Aston was so much displeased with his successor that he besought the King to confer that charge upon any other person; and when he found that his majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some lords to come to him, who he thought were most zealous in religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, that, though he was himself a Roman Catholic, he had been very careful to give no scandal to his majesty's Protestant subjects, and could not but inform him that Gage was the most Jesuited Papist alive, that he had a Jesuit who lived with him, and that he was present at all the sermons amongst the Catholics; which he believed would be very much to his majesty's disservice, so much his passion and animosity overruled his conscience.

166. The King liked the choice he had made, and only advised the new governor, by one of his friends, to have so much discretion in his carriage that there might be no notice taken of the exercise of his religion: to which animadversion he answered, that he never had nor ever would dissemble his religion, but that he had been so wary in the exercise of it that he knew there could be no witness produced who had ever seen him at mass in Oxford, though he heard mass every day; and that he had never been but once at a sermon, which was at the lodging of sir Arthur's daughter, to which he had been invited with great importunity, and believed now that it was to entrap him. But the poor gentleman enjoyed the office very little time; for within a month, or thereabout, making an attempt to

[1] ['had,' MS.]

break down Culham-bridge near Abington, where he intended to erect a royal fort, that should have kept that garrison from that side of the country, he was shot through the heart with a musket bullet. Prince Rupert was present at the action, having approved and been much pleased with the design, which was never pursued after his death; and in truth the King sustained a wonderful loss in his death, he being a man of great wisdom and temper, and amongst the very few soldiers who made himself to be universally loved and esteemed. 1644 Jan. 11.

167[1]. Though the King's condition was now much better than in the beginning of the summer he had reason to expect, [since] he had absolutely broken and defeated two armies of the Parliament, and returned into his winter quarter with triumph, and rather with an increase than diminution of his forces, yet his necessities were still the same, and the fountains dried up from whence he might expect relief, his quarters shortened and lessened, by the loss of the whole North: for after the battle of York the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle, which they had already done, and all other garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that work should be throughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that army should again move southward, and take such other places as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves. Oct. 29.

168. The army was less united than ever; the old general was set aside, and prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change: for the other was known to be an officer of great experience, and had committed no oversights in his conduct; was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any action he was sprightly, and commanded well. The prince was rough and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to Digby and Culpeper, who were only present in debates of the war with the officers, that he crossed all they proposed. The truth is, all the army had been

[1] [The text is here taken up from the *Life*, p. 273.]

1644 disposed from the first raising it to a neglect and contempt of the Council, and the King himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the respect due to it, in which he lost of his own dignity.

169. Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to prince Rupert than Wilmott had been; and had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmott loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business; and never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had much a better understanding and a sharper wit, (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired,) a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmott discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented or warily declined it, and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory, and in one of those fits had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable license. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmott violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself: Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit sake, and loved no man so well but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened; and therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company, for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambitions of both were unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained by any respect to good-nature or justice from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmott had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would without hesitation have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary

passion or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but 1644
industry (for he had wit and courage and understanding and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt in wickedness of any man in the age he lived in or before. And of all his qualifications dissimulation was his master-piece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

170. The Court was not much better disposed than the army: they who had no preferment were angry with those who had, and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves; and they who were envied found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so by the titles they had received upon their violent importunity. So that the King was without any joy in the favours he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind, who he foresaw would be no better pleased than the rest: and the pleasing one man this way displeased one hundred; as his creating the lord Culpeper at this time, and making him a Oct. 21.
baron, (who, in truth, had served him with great abilities, and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it,) did much dissatisfy both the Court and the army, to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no ornament of education to make men the more propitious to his parts of nature; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same obligation.

171. There had been another counsel entered upon and concluded with great deliberation and wisdom, which turned at this time to his majesty's disadvantage; which was, the cessation in Ireland; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope to have made a good peace there, and so to have had the power of that united kingdom to have assisted to the suppressing the rebellion in this. But now, as all the supplies he had received from thence upon the cessation had been already destroyed, without any benefit to the King, so his majesty found that he should not be able to

1644 make a peace there; and then the government there would be in the worse condition, by being deprived of so many good officers and soldiers upon the conclusion of the cessation. There had been commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the Confederate Catholics to treat a peace; the Lord Lieutenant and Council had sent likewise commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be considered in the treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in Ireland had sent likewise commissioners, in the name of the Protestants in that kingdom, to prevent the making any peace, and with a petition to dissolve the cessation that had been made[1].

172. The commissioners from the Confederate Catholics demanded the abrogation and repeal of all those laws which were in force against the exercise of the Romish religion; that the Lieutenant, or chief governor, should be a Roman Catholic; and that there should be no distinction made whereby those of that religion should not be capable of any preferment in the kingdom as well as the Protestants; together with the repeal of several laws which that nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

173. The commissioners from the State, whereof some were of the Privy Council, professed that they desired a peace might be made, but proposed, in order, (as they said) to the security of the kingdom, that all the Irish might be disarmed, and such amongst them as had been most signal and barbarous in the massacres in the beginning of the rebellion might be excepted from pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law; that the laws might be put in execution against all Roman Catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, priests, and friars; and that they might be obliged to pay all the damages which had been sustained by the war.

174. The commissioners from the Protestants demanded that the cessation might be dissolved, and the war carried on with the utmost rigour, according to the Act of Parliament that had

[1] [The commissioners from the Protestants arrived at Oxford, April 17, 1644, and those from the Roman Catholics on March 24. Rushworth, III. ii. 953; Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, III. 265.]

been made in the beginning of the rebellion, and that no peace might be made on any conditions. 1644

175. The King demanded of the Irish, whether they believed it could be in his power, if it were agreeable to his conscience, to grant them their demands, and whether he must not thereby purchase Ireland with the loss of England and Scotland? There were amongst them some sober men who confessed, that, as his majesty's affairs then stood, they believed he could not grant it; and they hoped that their General Assembly would, when they should be informed of the truth of his majesty's condition, which was not known to them, be persuaded to depart from some of their demands; but that for the present they had not authority to recede from any one proposition.

176. The King then asked the commissioners who had been sent over by the marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant of the kingdom, which forces they thought to be the stronger, the King's army, or that of the rebels? They confessed the rebels to be much superior in power, and that they were possessed of more than three parts of the kingdom. The King then asked them, whether they thought it probable, now they found themselves to be the stronger, that they would be persuaded to yield to so disadvantageous terms as they proposed, and to be so wholly at the mercy of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they could be so disposed, whether they believed that they were able, though they should be willing to sell all they have in Ireland, to pay the damages which had been sustained by the war? The commissioners acknowledged that they thought the last impossible, and that there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst not advise his majesty to recede at all; for that there could be no other security for the Protestants in that kingdom but by leaving the Irish without any capacity or ability to trouble them, for their perfidiousness was such that they could not be trusted; and therefore they must either be put into such a condition by being totally disarmed that they should not be able to do any mischieve, or that all the Protestants must leave the kingdom to the entire possession of the Irish; and whether that would

1644 be for his majesty's service and security they must refer to his own wisdom.

177. The King then sent for the commissioners from the Parliament on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked them whether they were ready, if the cessation were expired, to renew the war, and to prosecute it hopefully to the reduction or suppression of the Irish? They answered very clearly, that, in the state they were in, they could not carry on the war, or defend themselves against the Irish, who were much superior to them in power; but if his majesty would recruit his army, and send over money and arms and ammunition, with shipping, they made no doubt but, with God's blessing, they should be shortly able to reduce them, and drive them out of the kingdom. The King then asked them, whether they did in truth think that his majesty was able to send them such supplies as they stood in need of? or whether they did not in their consciences know that he was not able to send them any part of it, and stood in want of all for his own support? They answered, that they hoped he would make a peace with the Parliament, and would then be able to send over such assistance to Ireland as would quickly settle that kingdom.

178. But after all these discourses, his majesty prevailed not with either of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their demands; whereupon he dismissed them, and told the Irish it had been in their power so far to have obliged him that he might hereafter have thought himself bound to have gratified them in some particulars which were not now seasonable to have been done, but they would repent this their senseless perverseness when it would be too late, and when they found themselves under a power that would destroy them and make them cease to be a nation. And so they all left Oxford[1]; and his majesty notwithstanding all this resolution not to depart from any thing that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant interest in that kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in England than by having

[1] [The Roman Catholic agents left towards the end of May, and the Protestant took leave of the King on May 30.]

made that cessation: so wonderfully unreasonable was the nation then, under the absurd imputation of his majesty's favouring the Irish. 1644

179. The straits in which the King now was brought him to some reflections which he had never made before; and the consideration of what might probably be the event of the next summer disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger children were taken from the governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament quarters but expressly by their order put into the custody of one in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was one in whom the Parliament confided so much[1]. He had with him the Prince and the duke of York, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what governor or servants he put about him, resolving to form his manners by his own model. But now he began to say that himself and the Prince were too much to venture in one bottom, and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight; but communicated these thoughts only with the lord Digby, the lord Culpeper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was thought to confer more with the lord Culpeper upon the subject than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he conferred with nobody. There was but one province in which the Prince could reside after he was severed from the King, and that was the west; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the rebels being possessed of Taunton, the chief town in Somersetshire; and though it was an open and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King in the natural disaffection of the inhabitants, which were very numerous, and all the places adjacent of the same ill principles; and Waller had already sent some troops thither to confirm

[1] [The earl and countess of Northumberland, by order of both Houses of March 18, 1644-5.]

1644 them in their rebellious inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a body sufficient to form an army for the reduction of the west; nor was the design improbable to succeed, for the reputation of the Scots' army, upon the recovery of all the north, had shaken and terrified all the kingdom; and the King's army was the last enemy the west had been acquainted with, and had left no good name behind it.

180. To prevent this mischieve, Goring (who had now made a fast friendship with the lord Digby, either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the engagement) was sent with some troops to Salisbury, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of Waller; without which, Taunton would be in a short time reduced by the garrisons the King had in the country; so that this alteration rather confirmed than diverted his majesty in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither: so that he began to publish his purpose, and named councillors to be with his highness, and by whose advice all things should be done; his majesty's purpose being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince should go no farther west than Bristol; and that there might no jealousies arise from this action, (which every body knew was so far from the King's former purposes, and it might be imagined that his highness would be sent to the Queen his mother into France, which many unreasonably apprehended,) the King declared what council he intended should be about his son; the reputation of whom he thought would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, the lord Capell, the lord Hopton, the lord Culpeper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them to meet frequently at the Prince his lodging, to consider with his highness what preparations should be made for his journey, and in what manner his family should be established. There was one person more who of necessity was to wait on the person of the Prince, which was the earl of Barkshire, his governor; and then his majesty found what false measures he had taken in the conferring that province, and lamented his

own error to those he trusted[1], and knew not how to prevent 1644
the inconveniences that might ensue but by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the Prince his reverence and esteem for his governor, which was very sufficiently provided for: the other, to leave the governor without any more authority than every one of the council had, and so much less, as the prince had a better esteem of every one of them than he had of him: and so left him without a governor, which would have been a little better if he had been without the earl of Barkshire too.

181. When the King was in this melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment and some advantage to him to hear that the disorder the Parliament was in was superior to his. The cause of all the distractions in his Court or army proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his majesty was in, and a very moderate supply of money would in a moment have extinguished all those distempers. But all the wealth of the kingdom, (for they were possessed of all,) could not prevent the same, and greater, distractions and emulations from breaking into the whole government of the Parliament: and all the personal animosities imaginable brake out in their councils and in their armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power or credit when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

182. That violent party, which had first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to, and what remained to be done must be despatched by new workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the earl of Essex, and he as much with them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other than to destroy the King. And they bore the loss and dishonour he had sustained in Cornwall very well, and would have been glad that both he and his army had

[1] [The words 'those he trusted' are substituted in the MS. for 'the Chancellor of the Exchequer.']

1644 been quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for all his officers and soldiers were corrupted in their affections towards them, and desired nothing but peace: so that they resolved never more to trust or employ any of them. But that which troubled more, was, that their beloved earl of Manchester, upon whom they depended as a fast friend, by whom they might insensibly have divested the earl of Essex of all inconvenient authority in the army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other, and there was a breach fallen out between him and Oliver Cromwell which was irreconciliable [*sic*], and which had brought some counsels upon the stage before they were ripe.

Nov. 25. 183. Cromwell accused the earl of Manchester of having betrayed the Parliament out of cowardice, for that he might at the King's last being at Newbery, when he drew off his cannon, very easily have defeated his whole army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and shewed him evidently how it might be done, and desired him that he would give him leave with his own brigade of horse to charge the King's army in their retreat; and the earl, with the rest of his army, might look on, and do as he should think fit: but that the earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him, giving no other reason but that, he said, if they did engage and overthrow the King's army, the King would always have another army to keep up the war; but if that army which he commanded should be overthrown before the other under the earl of Essex should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences, and they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law.

184. This pronunciation what the *law* would do against them was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the earl believed the law to be against them, after so many declarations made by them that the law was on their side, and that the King's arms
Nov. 28. were taken up against the law. The earl confessed he had used words to that effect, that they should be treated as traitors if their army was defeated, when he did not approve the advice that was given by the lieutenant general, which would have

exposed the army to greater hazard than he thought seasonable 1644
in that conjuncture, in the middle of the winter, to expose it to. He then recriminated Cromwell, that at another time Cromwell discoursing freely with him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing somewhat to be done, the earl had answered that the Parliament would never approve it: to which Cromwell presently replied, 'My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself in the head of an army that shall give the law to King and Parliament:' which discourse he said made great impression in him, for he knew the lieutenant general to be a man of very deep designs; and therefore he was the more careful to preserve an army which he yet thought was very faithful to the Parliament.

185. This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to Cromwell, and had observed the fierceness of his nature, and the language he commonly used when there was any mention of peace; so that they desired that this matter might be throughly examined and brought to judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the earl of Manchester than to have the other matter examined, which would unavoidably have made some discoveries which they were not yet ready to produce. However, the animosities increased, and the parties appeared barefaced against each other, which increased the distractions, and divided the city as well as the Parliament; and new opinions started up in religion, which made more subdivisions, and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse, and *fanatics* were now first brought into appellation; which kind of confusion exceedingly disposed men of any sober understanding to wish for peace, though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

186. The Scots' commissioners were as jealous and as unsatisfied as any other party, and found since the battle of York neither their army nor themselves so much considered as before, nor any conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of Cromwell and sir H. Vane and all that party; which they saw increased every day, and

1644 grew powerful in the Parliament, in the council, and in the city. Their sacred vow and covenant was mentioned with less reverence and respect, and the Independents, which comprehended many sects in religion, spake publicly against it, of which party Cromwell and Vane were the leaders, with very many clergymen, who were the most popular preachers, and who in the Assembly of Divines had great authority. So that the Scots plainly perceived that, though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the Church of England as they desired, they should never be able to establish their Presbyterian government; without which they should lose all their credit in their own country and all their interest in England. They discerned likewise that there was a purpose, if that party prevailed, to change the whole frame of the government, as well civil as ecclesiastical, and to reduce the monarchy to a republic; which was as far from the end and purpose of that nation as to restore episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the mischieve and confusion that would fall out but by a peace; which they began heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a treaty on foot they knew not.

187. The House of Peers, three or four men excepted, wished it, but had no power to compass it. In the House of Commons there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe that they would accept of a proposition for a treaty if the King desired it, but that it would be dishonourable, and of very pernicious consequence to the nation if the Parliament first proposed it. So that it seemed evident, that if any of the party which did in truth desire peace should propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected, and rejected upon the point of honour by many of those who in their hearts prayed for it.

188. They tried their old friends of the city, who had served their turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a petition by which the Parliament should be moved to send to

the King to treat of peace. But that design was no sooner 1644
known but others of an opposite party were appointed to set a counter petition on foot, by which they should disclaim any consent [to], or approbation of, the other petition; not that they did not desire peace as much as their neighbours, (nobody was yet arrived at the impudence to profess against peace,) but that they would not presume to move the Parliament in it, because they knew their wisdom knew best the way to obtain it, and would do what was necessary and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it. And this petition found more countenance amongst the magistrates, the mayor, and aldermen; sir Henry Vane having diligently provided that men of his own principles and inclinations should be brought into the government of the city, of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well disposed.

189. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable peace found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolved it could only rise from his majesty, and to that purpose they should all labour with their several friends at Oxford to incline the King to send a message to the Parliament, to offer a treaty of peace in any place where they should appoint; and then they would all run the utmost hazard before it should be rejected.

190. The Independent party, (for under that style and appellation they now acted, and owned themselves,) which feared and abhorred all motions towards peace, were in as great straits as the other how to carry on their designs. They were resolved to have no more to do with either of their generals but how to lay them aside; especially the earl of Essex, who had been so entirely their founder that they owed not more to the power and reputation of Parliament than to his sole name and credit: the being able to raise an army, and conducting it to fight against the King, was purely due to him, and the effect of his power. And now to put such an affront upon him, and to think of another general, must appear the highest ingratitude, and might provoke the army itself, where he was still exceedingly

1644 beloved; and to continue him in that trust was to betray their own designs, and to render them unpracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disentangle themselves out of this labyrinth, they made no advance towards the recruiting or supplying their armies, nor to provide for any winter expedition; only they sent Waller out with such troops towards the west as they cared not for, and resolved to use their service no more.

191. They knew not how to propose the great alterations they intended to the Parliament; and of all men, the Scots' commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in
Dec. 13. the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses, (and in those combinations they were always unanimous,) that they would have a solemn fast-day, in which they would *seek God*, (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their Covenant,) and desire his assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in: and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the preachers who were to perform that exercise, and who were more trusted in the deepest designs than most of those who named them were: for there was now a schism among their clergy as well as the laity, and the Independents were the bolder and more political men.

Dec. 18. 192. When the fast-day came, which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches, the preachers prayed the Parliament might be inspired with those thoughts as might contribute to their honour and reputation, and that they might preserve that opinion the nation had of their honesty and integrity, and be without any selfish ends, or seeking their own benefit and advantage. And after this preparation by their prayers, the preachers, let their texts be what they would, told them very plainly, that it was no wonder that there was such division amongst them in their counsels when there was no union in their hearts: that the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only amongst their enemies but with their best

friends, who were the more out of countenance because they found that the aspersions and imputations which their enemies had laid upon them were so well grounded that they could not wipe them off: that there was as great pride, as great ambition, as many private ends, and as little zeal and affection for the public, as they had ever imputed to the Court: that whilst they pretended, at the public cost and out of the purses of the poor people, to make a general reformation, they took great care to grow great and rich themselves; and that both the city and kingdom took notice, with great anxiety of mind, that all the offices of the army, and all the profitable offices of the kingdom, were in the hands of the members of the two Houses of Parliament, who, whilst the nation grew poor, as it must needs do under such insupportable taxes, grew very rich, and would in a short time get all the money of the kingdom into their hands; and that it could not reasonably be expected that such men, who got so much and enriched themselves to that degree by the continuance of the war, would heartily pursue those ways which would put an end to it, the end whereof must put an end to their exorbitant profit. And when they had exaggerated these reproaches as pathetically as they could, and the sense the people generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing an end of the calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that reformation in Church and State which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their prayers that God would take his own work into his hand, and if the instruments he had already employed were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the troubles of the nation to a godly period. 1644

193. When the two Houses met together the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir H. Vane told them, if ever God had appeared to them it was in the exercise of yesterday; and that it appeared it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly informed by many who had been auditors in other Dec. 19.

1644 congregations) the same lamentations and discourses had been made in all other churches as the godly preachers had made before them; which could therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God. He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge, and besought them to remember their obligations to God and to their country, and that they would free themselves from those just reproaches, which they could do no otherwise than by divesting themselves of all offices and charges which might bring in the least advantage and profit to themselves; and by which they could only make it appear that they were public-hearted men, and as they paid all taxes and impositions with the rest of the nation, so they gave up all their time to their country's service without any reward or gratuity.

194. He told them, that the reflections of yesterday, none of which had ever entered upon his spirit before, had raised another reflection in him than had been mentioned; which was, that it had been often taken notice of, and objected by the King himself, that the numbers of the members of Parliament who sat in either House were too few to give reputation to acts of so great moment as were transacted in their councils; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper stations, but of those who had deserted their places and their trusts by being absent from the Parliament, yet that in truth there were too many absent, though in the service of the House and by their appointment; and if all the members were obliged to attend the service of the Parliament in the Parliament, it would bring great reputation to their numbers, and the people would pay more reverence and yield a fuller obedience to their commands: and then concluded, that he was ready to accuse himself for one of those who gained by an office he had, and though he was possessed of it before the beginning of the troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the Parliament, (for he had been joined with sir William Russel in the treasurership of the navy by the King's grant,) yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the Parliament; and wished that the profits thereof might be applied towards the support of the war.

195. When the ice was thus broke, Oliver Cromwell, who 1644
had not yet arrived at the faculty of speaking with decency and temper, commended the preachers for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many things upon which he had never reflected before, yet, upon revolving what had been said, he could not but confess that all was very true, and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very wisely in the entrance into this war to engage many members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation might see that they did not intend to embark them in perils of war whilst themselves sat securely at home out of gunshot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened; and those honourable persons who had exposed themselves this way had merited so much of their country that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration, and whatsoever should be well done after them should be always imputed to their example: but that God had so blessed their armies, that there had grown up with it and under it very many excellent officers, who were fit for much greater charges than they were now possessed of; and desired them not to be terrified with an imagination that if the highest offices were vacant they would not be able to put as fit men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh as to think such a cause as theirs depended upon any one man, he did take upon him to assure them, that they had officers in their armies who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in Christendom.

196. He said, he thought nothing so necessary as to purge and vindicate the Parliament from the partiality towards their own members; and made a proffer to lay down his commission of command in the army; and desired that an ordinance might be prepared, by which it might be made unlawful for any member of either House of Parliament to hold any office or command in the army, or any place or employment of profit in

1644 the State; and so concluded, with an enlargement upon the vices and corruptions which were gotten into the army, the profaneness and impiety and absence of all religion, the drinking and gaming, and all manner of license and laziness; and said plainly, that, till the whole army were new modelled and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success in any thing they went about.

Dec. 9[1]. 197. And this debate ended in appointing a committee to prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of all members from the trust aforesaid; which took up much debate, and depended April 3. very long before it was brought to a conclusion, and in the end was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driving on of which exceedingly increased the inclination of the other party to peace, which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins in that of the kingdom.

198. Advice came from so many several hands to Oxford that the King would send a message to the Houses for peace, with an assurance that it should not be rejected, that his majesty (who still apprehended as great a division amongst his own friends upon the conditions of peace, out of the universal weariness of the war, as he discerned there was amongst his enemies upon the emulation in command or differences in religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The members of Parliament were still sitting at Oxford: but they at London who were most desirous of peace had given warning to avoid that rock, and that their names should never be mentioned; which would have procured an union between the most irreconciliable parties in throwing out such overtures. On the other side, the sending a bare message by a trumpet was not probably like to produce any other effect than an insolent answer in the same way, or no answer at all, as his two or three last messages had done.

199. In conclusion, the King resolved that there should be a short message drawn, in which the continuance of the war

[1] [Clarendon appears to confuse the debate which took place on Dec. 9 when the vote for the Self-denying ordinance passed the Commons, and one which occurred on Dec. 19, the day after the fast.]

and the mischieves it brought upon the kingdom should be lamented, and therefore his desire [expressed] that some reasonable conditions of peace might be thought upon; assuring them that his majesty would be willing to consent to any thing that could consist with his conscience and honour. And he resolved that he would send this message by some persons of condition, who might, upon conference with their friends, be able to make some impression, at least to discover what might reasonably be expected; and if the Parliament should refuse to grant a safe conduct for such messengers, it might well be presumed what reception the message itself was like to find. The persons he resolved to send were the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton; both of unblemished honour, and of general reputation in the kingdom. And so a trumpet was sent to the earl of Essex for a safe guard or pass to those two lords, to the end they might deliver a message from the King to the two Houses concerning a treaty of peace. To which the earl of Essex only answered, that he would acquaint the Houses with it and return their answer, and so dismissed the trumpet. 1644 Dec. 5.

200. The King had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolved never to admit a peace, though they could not still prevent a treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object this unusual message: if the message itself had been sent, they might have judged whether it had been like to be attended with good success, and so might have accepted a treaty if they had approved of it; but this sending of messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a treaty before they admitted it, and to send enemies into their quarters with authority to scatter their poison abroad: and therefore with great passion [they] pressed that no such pass should be sent. On the other hand, it was with equal passion alleged, that the refusal of the safe conduct was a total rejection of peace before they understood upon what terms it would be offered, which the people would take very ill from them, and conclude that the war must continue for ever; and therefore they wished that a safe guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better

1644 opinion of their friends than to imagine that the presence or power of two men, how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt or pervert their affections from the Parliament.

201. And in this opinion the Scots' commissioners likewise concurred; so that the other party found it necessary to con-
Dec. 10. sent, and the safe conduct, after many debates, was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their friends abroad to be overpowered, they revenged themselves in pursuing the despatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a general, it was already proposed that sir Thomas Fayrefax (who had behaved himself so signally in their service in the defeat of colonel Bellasis, and taking him prisoner, which gave them their first footing in Yorkshire from their being shut up and besieged in Hull; in the overthrow of the lord Byron, and taking all the Irish regiments; and lastly in the late battle at York, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the Scots' army was routed and their general fled) might now be made their general; for which Oliver Cromwell assured them he was very equal. And in the discourses upon this subject, (which found all opposition,) as the service of the earl of Essex was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other general, so it was undervalued and depressed with some bitterness and contumely by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose if he were not totally excluded from any power.

Dec. 14. 202. Shortly after the beginning of December, the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, upon their pass, went from Oxford to London; where they were advised not to go much abroad lest the people should be apt to do them injury, and very few had the courage to come to them except with great privacy; only the Scots' commissioners, as men in sovereign authority and independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them and being visited by them. The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the war was carried

on only by the authority of the Parliament. Then, the message 1644
being delivered to either House, it was quickly communicated to the other; but now, the Scots' commissioners made a third [e]state, and the message was directed to them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolved that there should be a con- Dec. 16.
ference between the two Houses in the Painted Chamber, at which the Scots' commissioners should be present and sit on one side of the table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the King's messengers, where there was a seat provided for them; all the rest being bare, and expecting that they would be so too, for though the Lords used to be covered whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the Scots' commissioners; and so none were covered. But as soon as the two lords came thither, they covered, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that eyesore.

203. The lords used very few words in letting them know Dec. 17.
the King's great inclinations to peace, and delivered and read their message to that purpose; which was received by the Lords without any other expression than that they should report it to the Houses; and so the meeting brake up: and then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, passed some compliments and ceremony to the two lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send confident persons to them. They found there were great divisions amongst them, and upon points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believed that there would be a treaty of peace; but they could not make any such guess of the moderation of the conditions of the peace as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it but upon the highest terms of honour and security for the Parliament; which could neither be secure or honourable for the King. They discovered that they who did heartily wish the peace did intend to promote a treaty between persons named by the King and persons named by the Parliament, to meet at

1644 some third place, and not that they should send commissioners to Oxford to treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not like to produce a better end: whereas they did or seemed to believe that, how unreasonable soever the propositions should be upon which they treated, they would, by yielding to some things when they refused others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands than at first to reform them.

204. The method was not ingrateful to the lords, who had the same conceptions, that, if sober men were named for commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their communication. And the duke of Richmond sent his secretary Webb expressly to Oxford[1], to know the King's pleasure, whether, if a third place were proposed for commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it; which his majesty (though he had no mind to trust others but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve. But all this was but discourse and private wishes, for it was never brought into debate; and it was told them very plainly, that as long as they stayed in the town the Houses would never so much as confer upon the subject of their message; because they found it would be matter of great debate, and spend much time, during which they did not desire their company, nor to be troubled with their infusions. And therefore, as soon as they had received the King's message, they proceeded upon their trial of the archbishop of Canterbury before both Houses of Parliament, upon an impeachment of high treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the people of what resolution they had to make a peace with the King. The lords observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their friends not to stay longer but to expect the determination to be sent to Oxford, they returned to the King, with some confidence that a treaty would be consented to, and that it would be at some third place, and neither at Oxford and less at London, and by commissioners which should be agreed

[1] ['to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with whom only they corresponded'; *struck out in the MS.*]

on by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and 1644
even a condition, to the King, from all those with whom they had conferred, and who were the chief persons who advanced the treaty, that if that which they laboured for should be yielded to by the Parliament, his majesty should not name a person (whom they mentioned to the King)[1] for one of his commissioners; for that he was so odious that they would absolutely decline the treaty before they would admit him to be one of the treaters.

205. It was, as is said before, a very sad omen to the treaty, that after they had received the King's message by those noble lords, and before they returned any answer to it, they proceeded to trial of the archbishop of Canterbury, who had lain prisoner in the Tower from the beginning of the Parliament, full four years, without any prosecution till this time[2], when they brought him to the bar of both Houses, charging him with several articles of high treason, which, if all that was alleged Dec. 17.
against him had been true, could not have made him guilty of treason. They accused him of a design to bring in Popery, and of having correspondence with the Pope, and such like particulars as the consciences of his greatest enemies absolved him from. No man a greater or an abler enemy to Popery; no man a more resolute and devout son of the Church of England. He was prosecuted by lawyers, assigned to that purpose, of those who, from their own antipathy to the Church and bishops, or from some disobligations received from him, were sure to bring passion, animosity, and malice enough of their own, what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his judges were not displeased.

206. He defended himself with great and undaunted courage,

[1] [The words 'a person—king' are substituted in the MS. for 'the lord Digby.']

[2] [His trial commenced on March 12, 1644, and was continued at intervals until Oct. 11. But on Dec. 17 he was voted guilty on three charges in the House of Lords, when 14 lords were present, according to the archbishop's own account in his *History* of his trial; the *Lords' Journals*, vii. 102, give the names of 21.]

1644 and less passion than was expected from his constitution; answered all their objections with clearness and irresistible reason; and convinced all men of his integrity and his detestation of all treasonable intentions. So that though few excellent men have ever had fewer friends to [their persons,][1] yet all men absolved him from any foul crime that the law could take notice of and punish. However, when they had said all they could against him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such crime appearing as the Lords, as the supreme court of judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death, they resorted to their legislative power, and
Jan. 4. by ordinance of Parliament, as they called it, that is, by a determination of those members who sat in the Houses, (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve[2],) they appointed him to be put to death as guilty of high treason; the first time that two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that jurisdiction, or that ever ordinance had been made to such a purpose; nor could any rebellion be more against the law than that murderous act.

207. When the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose of bringing the archbishop to a trial for his life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great reverence and affection for him, had spoken to the King of it, and proposed to him, that, in all events, there might be a pardon prepared and sent to him under the Great Seal of England, to the end, if they proceeded against him in any form of law, he might plead the King's pardon, which must be allowed by all who pretended to be governed by the law; but if they proceeded in a martial, or any other extraordinary, way, without any form of law, his majesty should declare his justice and affection to an old faithful servant, whom he much esteemed, in having done all towards his preservation that was in his power to do. The King was wonderfully pleased with the proposition, and took from thence occasion to commend the piety and virtue of the archbishop with extraordinary affection; and commanded

[1] ['his person,' MS.]
[2] [nineteen. *Lords' Journals*, vii. 124.]

him to cause the pardon to be drawn, and his majesty would 1644
sign and seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the Chancellor sent for sir Thomas Gardiner, the King's Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure; upon which he presently prepared the pardon, and it was 1644
signed and sealed with the Great Seal of England, and care- April 12.
fully sent and delivered into the archbishop's own hand before he was brought to his trial; who received it with great joy, as it was a testimony of the King's gracious affection to him and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavoured to take away the King's life would preserve his by his majesty's authority.

208. When his counsel had perused the pardon, and considered that all possible exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found that the impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at Oxford, because they had no copy of it, and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions as in any court of law would make the pardon valid against any exceptions the King's own counsel could make against it. Hereupon the archbishop had by the same messenger returned the pardon again to the Chancellor with such directions and copies as were necessary; and it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his trial. So when his trial was over, and the ordinance passed for the cutting off his head, and he called and asked, according to custom in criminal proceedings, what he could say more why he should not suffer death; he told them that he had the King's gracious pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired that it might be allowed. Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and Jan. 7.
the pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long debate, it was declared to be of no effect, and that the King could not pardon a judgment of Parliament. And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his execution; which he underwent with all Christian courage and magnan- Jan. 10.
imity, to the admiration of the beholders and confusion of his enemies. Much hath been said of the person of this great

1644 prelate before, of his great endowments and natural infirmities; to which shall be added no more in this place, (his memory deserving a particular celebration,) than that his learning and piety and virtue have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best men.

209. When they had despatched this important work, and thereby received a new instance of the good affection and courage of their friends, and involved the two Houses in fresh guilt and obloquy, (for too many concurred in it without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their credits clear and entire, whereby they might with the more authority advance the peace that was desired,) they now enter upon the debate what answer they should send the King concerning a treaty for peace. They who desired to advance it hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new modelling the army, and to prevent the increase of those factions in religion which every day brake out amongst them, to the notorious scandal of Christianity. And they who had no mind to a treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of peace, discerned plainly that they should not be able to finish their design upon the army, and set many other devices on foot which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give some conclusion to it, and resolved that there should be a treaty, and upon the method that should be observed in the conducting it, from which they who should be employed by them should not recede or be diverted.

Jan. 3. 210. And then they nominated sixteen commissioners for the two Houses and four for the Parliament of Scotland[1], and named Uxbridge for the place where the treaty should be; which treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin.

Jan. 17. 211. Upon this conclusion, they sent their answer to the message they had received from the King by a trumpet, in a

[1] [Twenty-two in all; four for the House of Peers, eight for the House of Commons, and ten nominated as commissioners for Scotland by an ordinance of the Scottish Parliament of July 16, 1644. Sixteen was the number of the King's commissioners.]

letter from their general to the King's general; in which they informed his majesty, that, out of their passionate desire of peace, they had agreed to his proposition for a treaty, and that they had assigned Uxbridge for the place where it should be; and had appointed the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Denbigh, of the House of Peers, and of the Commoners, the lord Wenman, Mr. Purpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. St. John, (whom they called the King's Solicitor General,) sir Henry Vane the younger, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Prideaux, and for the kingdom of Scotland, the lord Lowdon, Chancellor of Scotland, the lord Maitland, (who by the death of his father became earl of Latherdale by the time of the treaty,) sir Charles Erskin, and one Mr. Berkely, to be their commissioners, together with Mr. Alexander Henderson in matters only which relate to the Church; to treat upon the particulars they had intrusted them with, with such persons as his majesty should please to nominate, for all whom a safe conduct should be sent as soon as his majesty had named them, as they desired his majesty's safe conduct for the persons named by them: to none of which the King took any exception, but signed their pass; and sent word to the Houses that he accepted the treaty and the place, and that he had nominated as commissioners for him, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hartford, the earl of Southampton, the earl of Kingston, the earl of Chichester, the lord Capell, the lord Seymour, the lord Hatton, Controller of the King's Household, the lord Culpeper, Master of the Rolls, sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, sir Edward Nicholas, principal Secretary of State, sir Richard Lane, Lord Chief Baron of his court of Exchequer, sir Thomas Gardiner, his majesty's Solicitor General, sir Orlando Bridgeman, Attorney of his court of Wards, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffry Palmer; and desired that a safe conduct might be sent for them, as his majesty had sent for the other; and they should then be ready, at the day that was set down, at Uxbridge.

1645 Jan. 18[1]. Jan. 21.

212. When this was returned to Westminster, there arose

[1] [Sir Tho. Hope's *Diary* (Bannatyne Club, 1843), p. 211.]

1645 new disputes upon the persons named by the King, or rather against the additions and appellations of title which were made to their names; for they did not except against the persons of either of them, though many of them were most ungracious to them.

213. When the Lord Keeper Littleton had fled from Westminster, upon his majesty's commands to attend him at York, 1643 the two Houses had in their fury declared that nothing which Nov. 10[1]. should from that time pass under the Great Seal should be good and valid, but void and null; which they did to discredit any commission which they foresaw might issue out for their conviction, trial, and attainder. And in some time after they had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's image, for the despatch of the necessary process in law and proceedings in courts of justice; which seal was committed by them to some of their members who had sat in the Chancery and transacted the business of that court, and applied the seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this declaration and ordinance of theirs invaded in this message they had now received from the King. The lord Dunsmore was created earl of Chichester; sir Christopher Hatton, lord Hatton; sir John Culpeper, Lord Culpeper, with the addition of Master of the Rolls, which office they had bestowed upon Lenthall their Speaker, who was in possession of it; sir Edward Hyde was declared Chancellor of the Exchequer, which, though it was an office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the Great Seal after it had come into the King's hands; Sir Thomas Gardiner was made the King's Solicitor, and the patent formerly granted to their beloved St. John stood revoked, which they would not endure, having, as is said, annexed that title to his name when they mentioned him as a commissioner for their treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief Baron and to the Attorney of the Wards; both which offices were in the possession of men more in their favour.

[1] [The order for the making a new seal was passed on 10 Nov. 1643, and included the declaration of the invalidity of all the acts which had passed under the Great Seal since May 22, 1642.]

214. After long debate, they were contented to insert their names in their safe conduct, without their honours or offices; and they were so angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they had no mind that he should be styled a knight, because he was not so when he left the Parliament, but the Scots' commissioners prevailed in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the use of the King's sword from him, and so they allowed him by a majority of votes to be a knight; and so sent their safe conduct in the manner as is mentioned to Oxford: upon which the King, upon the desire of the persons concerned, forbore to insist, but, giving them still in his own pass, and in his commission whereby they were authorized to treat with them, the style and appellation which belonged to them and which must be allowed by [the others][1] before they began to treat, the style of their pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was animadversion given at the same time that they would not, when they met at the treaty, consider any authority that qualified them to treat but only what should be under the King's sign-manual, though they would not take that for a sufficient warrant for themselves to treat with the King's enemies, they were contented, together with a commission under the Great Seal of England, to take another likewise with them in that form and only under the sign-manual, as was desired. 1645 Jan. 25.

215. About the end of January, or the beginning of February, the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; which being within the enemy's quarters, the King's commissioners were to have such accommodations as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the town to the King's commissioners, one house only excepted, which was given to the lord of Pembroke; so that they had no cause to complain of their accommodation, which was as good as the town would yield, and as good as the others had. There was a fair house at the end of the town which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, which was handsomely dressed up for Jan. 29.

[1] ['them,' MS.]

1645 the commissioners to sit in; a large square table being placed in the middle, with handsome seats for the commissioners to sit, one side being sufficient for those of either party, and a rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. And there were many other rooms on either side of this great room, for the commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult together, and to return again to the public debate; and there being good stairs at either end of the house, they never went through each other's quarters, nor met but in the great room.

216. As soon as the King's commissioners came to the town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them, and within an hour those of the King returned their visits with ordinary civilities; each professing great desire and hope that the treaty would produce a good peace. The visits were all together, and in one room, the Scots being in the same room with the English; either party eating always together, there being two great inns which served very well to that purpose, and the duke of Richmond, being Steward of his majesty's house, kept his table there for all the commissioners. Nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving visits apart, as their acquaintance and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the King's party used their accustomed freedom as heretofore; but on the other side there was great wariness and reservation, and so great a jealousy of each other that they had no mind to give or receive visits from their old friends whom they loved better than their new, nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's commissioners, but had always one of their companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. And it was observed by the town and the people that flocked thither that the King's commissioners looked as if they were at home and governed the town, and the other as if they were not in their own quarters: and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of mind as men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

217. The King's commissioners would willingly have performed their devotions in the church, nor was there any restraint

upon them from doing so, that is, by inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the vestures nor ceremonies of the Church to be used. So that the days of devotion were observed in their great room of the inn; whither many of the country, and of the train of the commissioners, and other persons who came every day from London, usually resorted. 1645

218. When the commissioners on both sides met first together in the room appointed for the treaty, and had taken their seats, it being left to the King's commissioners which side of the table they would take, the earl of Northumberland, who always delivered any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the papers, after the powers of both sides were examined and perused, proposed some rules to be observed in the treaty; of having nothing binding except all were agreed upon, and such like; to which there was no objection; [and] proposed, as a direction they had received from the Parliament, that they should first enter upon the matter of religion, and treat four entire days upon that subject, without entering upon any other; and if all differences in that particular were not adjusted within those days, they should then proceed to the next point, which was the militia, and observe the same method in that; and from thence pass to the business of Ireland; which three points being well settled, they believed the other differences would be with more ease composed: and after those twelve days were passed, they were to go round again upon the several subjects as long as the time limited would continue; his majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit at his own time, and to break the method proposed. And it was declared that the twenty days limited for the treaty were to be reckoned of the days which should be spent in the treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or the days spent in devotion; there falling out three Sundays and one fast-day in those first twenty days. The method was willingly consented to; the King's commissioners conceiving that it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the King's behalf till they discerned what agree- Jan. 30.

1645 ment was like to be made in any one particular, by which they might take their measures; and they could propose any thing of moment under one of the three heads which are mentioned before.

219. There happened a very odd accident the very first morning they met at the house to agree upon their method to be observed in the treaty. It was a market-day, when they used always to have a sermon, and many of the persons who came from Oxford in the commissioners' train went to the church to observe the new forms. There was one Love, a young man that came from London with the commissioners, who preached, and told his auditory, which consisted of all the people of the town and of those who came to the market, the church being very full, that they were not to expect any good from that treaty; for that they were men of blood who were employed in it from Oxford, who intended only to amuse the people with the expectation of peace till they were able to do some notable mischieve to them; and inveighed so seditiously against all cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else but to stir up the people to mutiny, and in it to do some act of violence upon the commissioners; who were no sooner advertised of it by several persons who had been present in the church, and who gave very particular information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other commissioners of it, gave them a charge in writing against the preacher, and demanded public justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the man; but afterwards confessed that they had no authority to punish him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended and to be sent out of the town: and this was all that could be obtained [1]; so unwilling they were to discountenance any man who was willing to serve them. And this is the same Love who some years after, by Cromwell's particular prosecution, had his
1651 head cut off upon Tower Hill for being against the army.

Aug. 22. 220. It is not the purpose of this discourse to set down

[1] [See Thurloe's *State Papers*, I. 65.]

the particular transactions of this treaty, which were published 1645
by the King's order shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the papers which had been delivered by the commissioners on either side exposed to the view of the kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be shortly mentioned, that they who hereafter may have the perusal of this may know how impossible it was that this treaty could produce such a peace as both sides would have been glad of, and that they who governed the Parliament then had at that time the resolution to act those monstrous things which they brought afterwards to pass.

221. The first business to be entered upon being that of Jan. 31.
religion, the divines of both sides were admitted to be present, in places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. Steward, Clerk of the closet to the King, was a commissioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the bar, at the backs of the commissioners. On the Parliament part it was proposed that all the bishops, deans, and chapters, might be immediately taken away and abolished, and, in the room thereof, that there might be such another government erected as should be most agreeable to God's word and the practice of the best churches: that the Book of Common Prayer might be taken away and totally suppressed, and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used, in which there was likewise set down as much of the government which they meant to erect for the future as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of Articles or Canons which they had likewise abolished; and that the King himself would take the Covenant, and consent to an act of Parliament whereby all persons of the kingdom should be likewise obliged to take it. And the copies of the Covenant and the Directory were delivered at the same time to the King's commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over before they could make any answer. And so they took that afternoon to peruse them

1645 together, and adjourned their treaty till the next morning; and though they entered upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long that they spent all that afternoon and some part of the night before they had finished the reading of them. And then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so because the persons who framed them were not all of one mind, nor had the same intentions in some of the other terms mentioned before, the commissioners caused many questions to be prepared in writing, to be offered
Feb. 1. at the next meeting, wherein they desired to be informed what their meaning was in such and such expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings and would hardly concur in one and the same answer: the preparing which papers was, throughout the treaty, always committed to the Chancellor.

222. Within a day or two after the beginning of the treaty, or rather the day before it did begin, the earl of Lowdon, Chancellor of Scotland, visited the duke of Richmond privately in his chamber, and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him, and he presently went to the duke's chamber, where he found them both; and, after some short compliments, the earl told him how stoutly he had defended his knighthood, which the Parliament had resolved to have denied if he had not convinced them. From thence he discoursed of the great prejudice the Parliament had against him, as a man who more industriously opposed peace than any other of the King's Council: that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies by being a good instrument in making this peace, and by persuading his majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his Parliament, which he hoped he would be.

223. The Chancellor told him, that the King did so much

desire a peace that no man need advise him, or could divert 1645
him, if fair and honourable conditions of peace were offered to him; but if a peace could not be had but upon such conditions as his majesty judged inconsistent with his honour or his conscience, no man would have credit enough to persuade him to accept it; and that for his own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it. The other seemed disappointed in his so positive answer: yet with great freedom entered upon discourse of the whole matter, and, after some kind of apology that Scotland was so far engaged in the quarrel, contrary to their former intentions and professions, he did as good as conclude that if the King would satisfy them in the business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other demands. In which proposition finding no kind of compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demand, as inconsistent with conscience, justice, or religion, the conference brake off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But from that time there was more contradiction and quick repartees between them two throughout the treaty, than between any other of the body of the commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private conferences with other of the commissioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concerned the Church.

224. When upon the next meeting of the commissioners the Feb. 1.
questions which are mentioned before were read and delivered by the duke of Richmond, who always performed that part on the behalf of the King's commissioners, as the earl of Northumberland did on the Parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their countenances; some of them, smiling, said we 'looked into their game'; but without offering at any answer, they rose, and went to their room of consultation, where they remained in great passion and wrangling many hours; so that the other commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the afternoon, and departed to

1645 dinner. As soon as they came together in the afternoon, and were sat, the earl of Northumberland said that they wondered there should appear any difficulty in any expressions upon which those questions had been administered in the morning, which to them seemed very clear and plain; however, to give their lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble lord there present, who was well acquainted with the signification of all those words, to explain what the common sense and meaning of them was. Thereupon the earl of Lauderdale[1] made a discourse upon the several questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had; and, being a young man, not accustomed to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made everything much more difficult than it was before: so that the commissioners desired that they might receive an answer in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance of the treaty, that though in debate any man might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing should be understood to be the sense of either side but what was delivered in writing; and therefore they desired that what that noble lord had said, which they presumed was the sense of all the rest, because they had referred to him, and seemed satisfied with what he had delivered, might be given to them in writing; without which they knew not how to proceed, or give an answer to what was proposed to them. This demand, founded upon a rule of their own, which they knew not how to decline, put the Scots' commissioners into great passion: for all the English sat still without speaking word, as if they were not concerned. The lord Latherdale[1] repeated what he had said before, a little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of Scotland said that the things were so plain that every man could not choose but understand and remember what was spoken, and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time, which would be quickly out, half the four days assigned for the business of religion being already to expire that night; and therefore passionately desired them that they

[1] [*sic.*]

would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter. 1645

225. It was replied, that they could not trust their memories so far as to prepare an answer to their demand concerning the Covenant or the Directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demand; which they had less reason now to believe they did than before, since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an answer to the papers they had given. And two or three of the King's commissioners withdrew, and prepared another paper, in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to them, who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any answer in writing, nor the others to desist from demanding it. But they declared that as they presumed they should in the end receive their answer in writing, which they should not depart from, so it was their resolution not to defer their further proceeding upon the matter, but [they] were ready to prosecute that in the method they would desire; and so it was resolved the next morning to hear the divines, who were of either party, what they would say against or for episcopacy, and the government and lands of the Church, which were equally concerned in the debate.

226. On the King's part, besides Dr. Steward, who was a commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there were Dr. Sheldon, (who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) Dr. Lany, (who was afterwards bishop of Ely,) Dr. Ferne, (who was afterwards bishop of Chester,) Dr. Potter, (then dean of Worcester and provost of Queen's college in Oxford,) and Dr. Hammond; all who, being the King's chaplains, were sent by him to attend the commissioners for their devotions, and for the other service of the Church, as the management of the treaty required, which could not be foreseen. On the Parlia-

1645 ment side, besides Mr. Alexander Henderson, who was the commissioner, Mr. Marshall, a country parson in Essex, and an eminent preacher of that party, who was the chief chaplain in the army, Mr. Vynes, a parson likewise in Warwickshire, and a scholar, (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church which had been so often disputed there,) Mr. [Cheynell[1]], one who had been fellow of [Merton][2] college in Oxford, and two or three others, who, bearing no part in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

Feb. 3. 227. Mr. Henderson began rather with rhetoric than logic, of the necessity to change the government of the Church for the preservation of the State, which was so much in danger that it could be preserved no other way, and therefore that in conscience it ought to be consented to; that the question was not about the preservation of both, which by the wisdom of the Parliaments of both nations was found to be impossible, but, since there could but one stand, whether they should be both sacrificed, or the Church given up that the State might be preserved: nor was the question now whether episcopacy was lawful, and the government by bishops consistent with religion, but, whether it was so necessary that religion could not be preserved without it; which was to condemn all the reformed Churches of Europe, where there were no bishops, England only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that the Parliament, which best understood what was good for the nation, had found it to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and corrupt government, that had been productive of great mischief[3] to the kingdom from the very time of the Reformation; that the bishops had always favoured Popery, and preserved and continued many of the rites and customs thereof in their government and practice, and had of late introduced many innovations into the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of Rome, and to the great scandal of the Protestant Churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland; that they had been

[1] ['Channell,' MS.] [2] ['Martin,' MS.]
[3] [Thus written by Clarendon himself in this instance.]

the occasion of the war between the two nations of Scotland 1645
and England, and then of the rebellion in Ireland, and now of the civil war in England; and thereupon, that the Parliament, in order to uniting all the Protestant Churches, which was the only way to extinguish Popery, had resolved to change this inconvenient, mischievous government, and erect another in the place of it which should advance piety and true religion; and that he hoped the King would concur in so godly an action, which would prove so much for his glory. He took notice of an old answer formerly made by[1] a King of England, when the alteration of some laws had been desired of him, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare;* which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossible for any king to lay it down as a rule that he will not change the laws, for most kings had changed them often for their own and their subjects' benefit: but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, 'We will change them as often as there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer them *mutari*, to be changed by the presumption of others, without [our[2]] consent.' He said, they did not presume to think of compelling the King to change the government of the Church, but they hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble petition of both kingdoms, and for his own and their benefit: that he should say no more, till he should hear the reasons from the divines on the other side why his majesty should not consent to the advice of his Parliament, since he conceived nothing of conscience could be alleged against it, because it appeared by what his majesty had consented to in Scotland for the utter abolishing of bishops, that he did not believe in his conscience that episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the support of Christian religion.

228. Dr. Steward, with a much better countenance, told the commissioners, that he hoped and knew that their lordships were too well acquainted with the constitution of the Church of England, and the foundation upon which it subsisted, to believe it could be shaken by any of those arguments which had been made against it. He said, that though he did believe it was

[1] [Said to King John, not by him.]

[2] ['his,' MS.]

1645 impossible to prove that a government, settled and continued without intermission from the time when Christianity was first planted in England, and under which the Christian religion had so much flourished, was an unlawful and antichristian government, yet that he expected that they who had sworn to abolish it, and came now to persuade their lordships to concur with them in pressing the King to join in the same obligation, would not urge a less argument for such their engagement than the unlawfulness and wickedness of that government which conscience obliged them to remove. But Mr. Henderson had wisely declined that argument, though in their common sermons, and other discourses in print, they gave it no better style than *antichristian;* and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and the benefit which would result by the change, of which no judgment could be made, till it might be known what government they did intend to erect in the place; and since the union with the foreign Protestant Churches seemed to be their greatest reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed, he wished that they would set down which foreign Church it is to which they meant to conform and make their new government by; for that he was assured that the model which they seem affected to in their Directory was not like to any of the foreign reformed Churches now in the world. He said, though he would not take upon him to censure the foreign Churches, yet it was enough known that the most learned men of those Churches had lamented that their reformation was not so perfect as it ought to be for want of episcopacy, which they could not be suffered to have: and they had always paid that reverence to the Church of England which they conceived due to it as the Church to which God had vouchsafed the most perfect reformation, because it retains all that was innocent and venerable in antiquity. He then enlarged upon the original institution of episcopacy; using all those arguments which are still used by the most learned men in those disputes, to prove that without bishops there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently no administration of sacraments, or performance of the ministerial functions. He

said, he would not presume to say any thing of his majesty's 1645
having consented to the abrogation of episcopacy in Scotland, though he knew what his majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an obligation upon him in conscience in this kingdom, which he had not in that, which was his coronation oath, by which he was bound to defend the rights of the Church; which alone would make it unlawful for his majesty to consent to what was proposed, both in the point of episcopacy, and the alienation of the lands of the Church, which would be direct sacrilege.

229. And upon these several points, and what resulted from thence, the divines on both sides spent all that day, morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night, and most part of the next day; only the commissioners on either side, at the first coming together, mornings and afternoons, presented such papers as they thought fit upon what had passed upon debate: as the King's commissioners desired to know in writing, whether the Parliament commissioners did believe that the government of the Church by bishops was unlawful? to which they could never obtain a categorical answer.

230. When the last of the four first days was past, for it was near twelve of the clock at night, and the Scots' commissioners observed that nothing was consented to which they looked for, the Chancellor of Scotland entered into a long discourse with much passion against bishops, of the mischieve they had done in all ages, and of their being the sole causes of the late troubles in Scotland and of the present troubles in England: remembered that the archbishop of Canterbury had pursued the introduction of the Liturgy and the Canons into Scotland with so great vehemence, that, when it was desired that the publishing them might be suspended for one month that the people might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay, but caused it to be entered upon the next Sunday, against the advice of many of the bishops themselves, which put the people into such a fury that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complained that four days had been now

1645 spent in fruitless debates, and that though their divines had learnedly made it appear that episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might lawfully be taken away, and that notwithstanding it was evident that it had been the cause of great mischieve, and the wisdom of Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the kingdom, their lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one particular of importance to give them satisfaction; from which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclination to peace which they hoped they would have done; and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent than were expected.

231. Whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without some commotion, said, that he did not wonder that their lordships who had for some years been accustomed to such discourses, and the more inclined to suppose all that was confidently said to be reasonably proved, and so having not been used to converse with any persons of a contrary opinion, had been brought to consent and approve those alterations which they had proposed; but that it seemed very admirable to him, that their lordships could expect, or imagine it possible, that they who never had heard such things said before, nor could understand in so little time what had been now said, should depart from a faith and a form of worship in which they had been educated from their cradle, and which, upon so long observation and experience, they looked upon with all possible approbation and reverence, upon only hearing it inveighed against four days; which would have been much too little time to have warranted a conversion from much less important opinions which they had so long entertained, though their arguments had had as much weight as they wanted. He said, they were of opinion that all those mischieves and inconveniences which they had mentioned had in truth proceeded from an over vehement desire to overthrow episcopacy, not from the zeal to support it: that if the archbishop of Canterbury had been too precipitate in pressing the reception of that which he thought a reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made him the more

wonder, that they should blame them for not submitting to 1645
much greater alterations than were at that time proposed, in four days, when they reproached him for not having given them a whole month to consider of. He said, he might assure their lordships, with great sincerity, that they were come thither with all imaginable passion and desire that the treaty might conclude in a happy and blessed peace; as he still hoped it would: but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe that their lordships brought with them the same honourable and pious inclinations, though the instructions and commands from those who trusted them restrained them from consenting to what in their own judgments seemed reasonable. And so, without any manner of reply, both sides rose and departed, it being near midnight.

232. There happened a pleasant accident on one of those days which were assigned for the matter of religion. The commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the fire-side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, one of the King's commissioners asking one of the other, with whom he had familiarity, in a low voice, why there was not in their whole Directory any mention of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, (as indeed there is not,) the earl of Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answered aloud, and with his usual passion, that he and many others were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had taken up many hours' debate in the House of Commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine voices, and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the House of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believed, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting all three. Which made many smile, to hear that the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the question, and rejected: and many of the other were troubled and out of countenance with the reason the good lord had given for the exclusion.

1645 Feb. 4. 233. The next subject of the treaty was the business of the militia; which the commissioners positively required to be entirely vested in the Parliament, and in such persons as they thought fit to be confided in. And this they said was more necessary than ever, for the securing the people from their fears and jealousies, which were now much increased, and were capable of being assuaged by no other means: and delivered a large paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the King. And when the commissioners of the King, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of the law, Lane, Gardiner, Bridgeman, and Palmer, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of law or justice, and asserted it to be vested in the King by the law, they never offered to allege any other argument than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the militia to be in them, from which they could not recede. So that the conferences were very short upon those days, but the papers very long which were mutually delivered, the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the peace) both publicly and privately insisting upon having the whole command of the militia by sea and land, and all the forts and ships of the kingdom at their disposal; without which they looked upon themselves as lost and at the King's mercy, without considering that he must be at theirs if such a jurisdiction was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable amongst them thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.

Feb. 7. 234. Then they entered upon the business of Ireland; in which they thought they had the King at very great advantage, and that his commissioners would not be able to answer the charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the commissioners on the King's part who had not been well acquainted with those transactions thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do;

and any thing of grace towards the Irish rebels was as ungracious at Oxford as it was at London, because they knew the whole kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that rebellion; how the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that war to the two Houses of Parliament; that they had levied great sums of money upon the kingdom for that service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater burden upon the kingdom than it could bear, that his majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the encouragement of adventurers to bring in money, upon assurance of having land assigned to them in that kingdom, out of the forfeitures of the rebels, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed, and had likewise by the same Act put it out of his power to make any peace or cessation with those rebels, or to grant pardon to any of them, without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his majesty's subjects had brought in very considerable sums of money, by which they had been able to manage that war without putting this kingdom to farther charge; and God had so blessed the Protestant forces there that they had subdued and vanquished the rebels in all encounters; and probably by that time the whole rebellion had been extinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his promise and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a cessation with those execrable rebels, when they were not able to continue the war, and had called over many of those regiments which the Parliament had sent over against the Irish, to return hither to fight against the Parliament: by means whereof his Protestant subjects of that kingdom were in great danger to be destroyed, and the kingdom to be entirely possessed by the Papists; enlarging themselves upon this subject, with all envious insinuations they could devise to make the people believe that the King was inclined to and favoured that rebellion. They demanded that the King would forthwith declare that cessation to be void, and that he would prosecute the war against those rebels with the utmost fury, and that the Act of Parliament for their reduction might be executed as it ought to be. 1645

1645 235. The commissioners of the King prepared and delivered a very full answer in writing to all their demands; at the delivery whereof they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars which made the counsels which had been taken just and necessary; which he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the Parliament were in much confusion, and the King's commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of their bringing those very troops which were levied by the King's authority for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, to fight against the King at Edgehill, under the command of the earl of Essex: of their having given over the prosecution of that war, or sending any supply of arms, money, or ammunition thither, having employed those magazines which were provided for that service against his majesty; insomuch as the Privy Council of that kingdom had sent to his majesty that he would provide some other way for the preservation of that kingdom, since they could not be able to support the war any longer against the united power of the rebels: that all overtures which his majesty had made towards peace and been rejected by the Parliament, and one hundred thousand pounds brought in by the adventurers for Ireland had been sent in one entire sum into Scotland, to prepare and dispose that kingdom to send an army to invade this, which they had done; and till then his majesty had not in the least degree swerved from the observation of that Act of Parliament: but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of prosecuting the end and intention of that statute, [applied[1]] it wholly to the carrying on the war against him, he thought himself absolved before God and man if he did all he could to rescue and defend himself against their violence by making a cessation with the rebels in Ireland, and by drawing over some regiments of his own army from thence to assist him in England: which cessation had hitherto preserved the Protestants of that kingdom, who were not able without supplies to preserve themselves from the strength and power of the rebels; which supplies his majesty could not, and the

[1] ['apply,' MS.]

Parliament would not, send; and therefore, if the Protestants 1645
there should hereafter be oppressed by the rebels, who every day procured assistance from abroad, and so were like to be more powerful, all the mischieves and misery that must attend them would, before God and man, be put to the account of the Parliament, which had defrauded them of those supplies which by his majesty's care had been raised and provided for them, and not to his majesty, who had done nothing but what he was obliged to do for his own preservation; and if he had not sent for those soldiers from Ireland, they could not have stayed there without a supply of money, clothes, and provisions, which the Parliament had not yet sent to that part of the army which remained there, and which could by no other way have subsisted but by the benefit and security of the cessation.

236. He told them that all this unjustifiable way of proceeding, though it had compelled the King to yield to a cessation, yet could not prevail with him to make a peace with the Irish rebels; from whom he had admitted commissioners to attend him with propositions to that purpose; but that, when he found those propositions and demands so unreasonable that he could not consent to them in conscience, and that they were inconsistent with the security of his Protestant subjects there, he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their commissioners with severe and sharp animadversions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant and Council there authority to continue the cessation longer, in hope that the rebels there might be reduced to better temper, or that his majesty might be enabled by a happy peace here, which he hoped this treaty would produce, to chastise their odious and obstinate rebellion: and if the Parliament would yet give his majesty sufficient caution that the war shall be vigorously prosecuted there against the Irish, by sending over strong supplies of men and money, he would put an end to that cessation, without declaring it to be void, which he could not in justice do, and the doing whereof would be to no purpose.

237. The commissioners, visibly out of countenance and angry, made no other reply but that they were sorry to find

1645 that odious and detestable rebellion had received so much grace as that commissioners from it had been admitted into the King's presence, and that they wondered there should be any scruple made of declaring that cessation void that was entered into expressly against the letter of an Act of Parliament. And this reply they gave in writing, with many pathetical expressions against the murders and cruelty that had been used in the beginning of that rebellion; which obliged the King's commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to, and to tell them that they wished it were in the King's power to punish all rebellion with that severity that was due to it; but since it was not so, he must condescend to treaties, and to all other expedients which are necessary to reduce his subjects who are in rebellion to return to their duty and obedience.

238. The twelve first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either party; for though in the matter of religion, the King's commissioners had made such condescensions as would oblige bishops to be more diligent in preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their jurisdiction, yet no such reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible that in the matter of Ireland the King's defence would weigh down their clamour and calumny.

239. There happened some accidents in this time of the treaty which made impression on either party. The first was found in the looks of the Parliament commissioners, upon the advertisement they received that sir Lewis Dyves, who was governor of a small garrison in Sherborne in Dorsetshire, had
Feb. 10, 11. from thence, in a night, upon intelligence with the King's governor of Portland Castle, surprised Waymoth, a seaport possessed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King. But whilst the King's commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have

the more disposed the Parliament to a just peace, they received 1645
advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel Laughorne and Mitton, two very active officers in the Parliament service about Shropshire and North Wales, by correspondence with some townsmen and some soldiers in the garrison of Shrewsbury, from whence too many of that garrison were unhappily drawn out two or three days before upon some expedition, seized upon that town in the night, and by the same Feb. 22.
treachery likewise entered the castle, where sir Michael Earnly, the governor, had been long sick, and, rising upon the alarum out of his bed, was killed in his shirt, whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible, and refused quarter; which did not shorten his life many days, being even at the point of death by a consumption, which kept him from performing all those offices of vigilance which he was accustomed to, being a gallant gentleman, who understood the office and duty of a soldier by long experience and diligent observation. The loss of Shrewsbury was a great blow to the King, and straitened his quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure line of communication with Chester, and exposed all North Wales, Hereford, and Worcester to the daily inroads of the enemy: and the news of this recovered the dejected spirits of the Parliament commissioners at Uxbridge.

240. Yet there had been an odd accident which accompanied the enterprise upon Waymoth, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir Lewis Dyves had, in his march from Sherborne, intercepted a packet of letters sent out of Somersetshire to the Parliament; and amongst those there was a letter from John Pyne, a gentleman well known, and of a fair estate in that country, to colonel Edward Popham, a principal officer of the Parliament in their fleets at sea, and of a passionate and virulent temper, of the Independent party. The subject of the letter was a bitter invective against the earl of Essex and all those who advanced the treaty of peace, and a great detestation of the peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself and all who adhered to him. This

1645 letter had been sent by sir Lewis Dyves to one of the secretaries at Oxford, and from him to the commissioners at Uxbridge; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those commissioners who they knew desired a peace and were very great friends to the earl of Essex. The Scots were likewise as much inveighed against as any body else. They with whom this letter was communicated durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised that the marquis of Hartford might send a copy of it to his brother, the earl of Essex, with such reflections as he thought fit: which being done accordingly, the earl of Essex, who was yet general, took it so much to heart, that he desired the marquis of Hartford would send him the original; which was presently done, hoping that it would have given some advantage to the earl of Essex, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

241. The conversation that this letter occasioned between some of the commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who desired to have peace, without any alteration in the government, so they might be sure of indemnity and security for what was past; that the Scots would insist upon the whole government of the Church, and in all other matters would defer to the King; but that there was another party that would have no peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the government in State as well as Church, which made a great party in the army: and all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the earl of Essex from being general of the army, and to make another general, were of that party. There was likewise amongst the commissioners themselves very little trust and communication, sir Harry Vane, St. John, and Prydeaux, being, upon the matter, but spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a peace, even upon any terms, yet none of them had the courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant demand. And there was reason enough to believe that if the

King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would 1645
likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those persons who had faithfully served the King, and who had been by them always excepted as persons never to be pardoned.

242[1]. For though they had assigned those three general heads, of the Church, of the militia, and of Ireland, to be first treated upon, which were all popular and plausible arguments, and in which they who most desired peace would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had [not] in the least degree declined any other of their propositions; as, the exemption of many of the greatest quality, or of the most declared affections to the King, in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from pardon, and the making the estates of the rest, under the name of *delinquents*, liable to pay the charges of the war; in which, [or[2]] any of the other very unreasonable demands, they had not in their instructions given their commissioners authority in the least particle to recede: they who desired peace being satisfied that they had prevailed to have a treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands would fall off of themselves when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the treaty should be ineffectual were well content that their commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three generals, without power to depart from any one expression in the propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied that in the particular which concerned the Church the Scots would never depart from a tittle, and as sure that the King would never yield to it; and that in the militia they who most desired peace would adhere to that which most concerned their own security; and in the business of Ireland, besides the opportunity to asperse the King upon an argument in which the people generally concurred with them, they were safe enough, except the King should absolutely retract and recant all that he had done, and

[1] [*Hist.*, p. 34.] [2] ['nor,' MS.]

1645 by declaring the cessation void expose all those who had a hand in it to their censure and judgment, and so dissolve all the authority he had in that kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads for their treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion amongst them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude that if the King satisfied them in the terms of those three propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest, which could not relate so much to his conscience or his honour as the other. Besides, they knew well that, if by the King's condescensions they had full satisfaction in the former three, they who had most passion for peace would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

243[1]. One night, late, the earl of Pembroke came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's lodging to return him a visit, and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him that there was never such a pack of knaves and villains as they who now governed in the Parliament, who would so far prevail if this treaty were broke as to remove the earl of Essex, and then they would constitute such an army as should force the Parliament, as well as the King, to consent to whatsoever they demanded; which would end in the change of the government into that of a commonwealth. The Chancellor told him, if he believed that, it was high time for the Lords to look about them, who would be then no less concerned than the King. He confessed it, and that they were now sensible that they had brought this mischieve upon themselves, and did heartily repent it, though too late, and when they were in no degree able to prevent the general destruction which they foresaw: but if

[1] [*Life*, p. 293.]

the King would be so gracious to them, as to preserve them 1645
by consenting to those unreasonable propositions which were made by the Parliament, the other wicked persons would be disappointed by such his concessions; the earl of Essex would still keep his power; and they should be able, in a short time after the peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him that he now parted with, and to drive those wicked men who would destroy monarchy out of the kingdom, and then his majesty would be greater than ever. How extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was the same which the wisest of the rest (and there were men of very good parts amongst them) did seriously urge to other of the King's commissioners, with whom they had the same confidence: so broken they were in their spirits, and so corrupted in their understanding, even when they had their own ruin in their view.

244[1]. The earl of Northumberland, who was the proudest man alive, could not look upon the destruction of monarchy, and the contempt the nobility was already reduced to, and [which] must be then improved, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly received at Oxford upon his addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the jealousy of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolved no more to depend upon the one or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King's power and authority so much restrained that he might not be able to do him any harm.

245. The earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit or interest in the Parliament or country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their fear of the faction that prevailed was so much greater than their hatred towards them, that, though they wished they might rather be destroyed than the King, they had rather the King and his posterity should be destroyed than that Wilton should be taken from the one of them or

[1] [§§ 244–248 from the *Hist.*, pp. 34–5.]

1645 Hatfield from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger they both believed to be the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection.

246. The earl of Denbigh had much greater parts, and saw further before him into the desperate designs of that party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit their company with whom he had conversed too long, though he had received from them most signal affronts and indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them; yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to worse conditions than were now offered to him. He conferred with so much freedom with one of the King's commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his companions. With him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King with expressions of great compunction, and protested that he would most willingly redeem his transgressions by any attempt that might serve the King signally, though he were sure to lose his life in it; but that to lose himself without any benefit to the King would expose him to all misery, which he would decline by not separating from his party. He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the Parliament than others apprehended or imagined, and had a full prospect of the vile condition himself and all the nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it by any activity of their own; and concluded, that if any conjuncture fell out in which by losing his life he might preserve the King, he would embrace the occasion; otherwise, he would shift the best he could for himself.

247. Of the commissioners of the House of Commons, though,

the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their 1645
hearts desire a peace, and upon much honester conditions than they durst own, yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that, though they would speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those commissioners of the King's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not in the presence of any of their own companions use that freedom. The debate that had been in the House upon the Self-denying Ordinance had raised so many jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any man intended to do; many who had from the beginning of the troubles professed to have most devotion for the earl of Essex, and to abhor all his enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

248. Hollis, who was the frankest amongst them in owning his animosity and indignation against all the Independent party, and was no otherwise affected to the Presbyterians than as they constituted a party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appear[ed] most resolute to concur with him would by degrees fall from him purely for want of courage, in which he abounded. Whitlocke, who from the beginning had concurred with them without any inclination to their persons or principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them: all his estate was in their quarters, and he had a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone: yet to his friends who were commissioners for the King he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all their proceedings, yet could not leave them. Purpoint and Crew, who were both men of great fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness and sourness than formerly, and were more reserved towards the King's commissioners than

1645 was expected, and in all conferences insisted peremptorily that the King must yield to whatsoever was demanded in the three demands which had been debated. They all valued themselves upon having induced the Parliament, against all opposition, to consent to a treaty; which producing no effect, they should hereafter have no more credit; and it plainly appeared, that they had persuaded themselves that in the treaty they should be able to persuade the King's commissioners to concur with them, and that the King would yield upon the very same argument and expectation that the earl of Pembroke had offered to the Chancellor.

249[1]. Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the commissioners, or, if they could be corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more impossible it would be to persuade the King to consent to what was so diametrically against his conscience and his honour, and, in truth, against his security, did wish that in order to get the time of the treaty prolonged some concessions might be made in the point of the militia, in order to their security; which being provided for might probably take off many persons who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to those who they thought were most jealous of it and most solicitous for it. And this seemed such an expedient to those to whom they proposed it, that they thought fit to make a debate amongst all the commissioners; and if it did produce no other effect than the getting more days to the treaty, and [making][2] more divisions in the Parliament, both which they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was not small that would attend it; for as long as the treaty lasted there could be no advance made towards new modelling the army, the delay whereof would give the King likewise more time to make his preparations for the field, towards which he was in no forwardness. And this consideration prevailed with the commissioners to send their opinion to the King that he should give them leave to propose, when the next day came for the debate of the point of the militia, that the whole militia of the kingdom should be settled in such a number of persons, for seven or eight years, who should be all sworn to the observation

[1] [§§ 249–254 from the *Life*, pp. 293–4.]

[2] ['make,' MS.]

of all the articles which should be agreed upon in the treaty; 1645
after the expiration of which time, which would be sufficient to extinguish all jealousies, it should be restored to the King. And they sent the King a list of such names as they wished might be inserted in the proposition, of persons in credit with the Parliament, to which his majesty might add the like number of such of whose fidelity he was most assured.

250. The earls of Essex, Northumberland, Warwick, and Manchester, with Fayrfax and Cromwell, were amongst those they recommended to be named by the King. And with this message they sent two of their own body [1], who added other reasons, which they conceived might prevail with him; and his majesty was with great difficulty prevailed with to consent that such an overture should be made; and, being unwilling to dissent from his commissioners' judgment, and especially in confidence that it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthening the treaty, his majesty was contented that the commissioners should make such an offer as is mentioned, and name the persons they had proposed of the Parliament party. But then he sent a list of such persons as himself thought fit to trust in that affair, and in whom, together with the other, he would have the power of the militia to be vested [2]. But by this time, the term assigned for the treaty drawing towards an end, they who had first advised this expedient had not the same opinion of the success, and had plainly discovered that the Parliament would not consent to add one day more to the treaty; [and so] the farther prosecution of the overture in that manner was laid aside [3]. For the King's commissioners con-

[1] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS.:—'whereof they much desired the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be one; but he excused himself, having in the debate changed his mind, and, upon somewhat that was foreseen like to fall out, was against the making any proposition at all.']

[2] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS.:—'and in that list he named the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was very much troubled at the honour, and writ very earnestly to the King to exempt him from the envy of such a trust by leaving out his name, and putting in another of a higher qualification.']

[3] [The remainder of this section is taken from the *Hist.*, p. 35.]

1645 cluded, that at this time to offer any particular names from the King to be trusted with the militia were but to expose those persons to reproach, as some of them were very ungracious and unpopular, and to give the other side an excuse for rejecting the offer upon exception to their persons. However, that they might see a greater condescension from the King in that point than he had ever yet been induced to, they offered that the militia should be so settled for the space of seven years as they had desired, in such a number of persons as should be agreed upon, a moiety of which persons should be nominated by the King, and the other moiety by the Parliament: which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

251. From this time the commissioners on both sides grew more reserved and colder towards each other; insomuch as in the last conferences the answers and replies upon one another were more sharp and reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their conference upon the last day, which held most part of the night, it was evident either side laboured most to make the other seem to be most in fault. And the King's commissioners delivered a paper which contained a sum of all that had been done in the treaty, and observed that, after a war of so many years, entered into, as was pretended, for the defence and vindication of the laws of the land and the liberty of the subject, in a treaty of twenty days they had not demanded any one thing that by the law of the land they had the least title to demand, but insisted only on such particulars as were against law and the established government of the kingdom; and that much more had been offered to them for the obtaining of peace than they could with justice or reason require: with which they were so offended that they for some time refused to receive the paper, upon pretence that the time for the treaty was expired, because it was then after twelve of the clock of the night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding that it would not be less public, and would
Feb. 22. more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted a little before the break of day.

Feb. 23. 252. And the next day, being Sunday, they rested in the

town, that they might in the afternoon decently take their leave of each other; though Monday, according to the letter of their pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that season of the year their journey to Oxford might require two days, and they had spent two days in coming thither; and the commissioners for the Parliament had given them a paper in which they declared that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no advantage should be taken. But they having on Sunday performed their mutual visits to each other, they parted with such a dryness towards each other as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the King's commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, or to depend upon their words, that they were on the Monday morning so early in their coaches that they came to Oxford that night, and kissed the King's hand; who received them very graciously, and thanked them for the pains they had taken. And surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together as at that treaty; the commissioners seldom parting during that whole time till one or two of the clock in the morning, and they being obliged to sit up long after who were to prepare such papers as were directed for the next day, and to write letters to Oxford; so that if the treaty had continued longer it is very probable many of the commissioners would have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to Oxford[1]. And thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge, the particulars whereof were by the King's command shortly after published in print, and never contradicted by the Parliament. 1645 Feb. 24.

253. After the treaty of Uxbridge the King spake to those he trusted most[2] at that time with much more melancholique of

[1] This last sentence was originally in the MS. written with reference only to Clarendon himself, as being 'wont to say that in his life he never underwent so great fatigue * * * he being commonly obliged to sit up long after to prepare such papers * * * want of sleep, which the Chancellor was not satisfied with in three or four days after his return to Oxford.']

[2] ['those—most' substituted in the MS. for 'him,' *i. e.* the Chancellor of the Exchequer.]

1645 his own condition and the state of his affairs than he had used to do. The loss of Shrewsbury was attended with many ill consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompense for it, which was the surprise of Waymoth, proved but a dream; for the enemy had lost but one part of the town, which they in a short time after recovered again, by the usual negligence of the King's governors. So that his majesty told them he found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his son from himself, that the enemy might not, upon any success, find them together, which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands, whilst his son was at liberty they would not dare to do him harm. He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions that upon the loss of a battle he might become a prisoner; but he never imagined that it could enter into their thoughts to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to design and execute it, but he believed it against their interest; and would often in discourse say, of what moment the preservation of his life was to the rebels, and how much they were concerned to preserve it, in regard that if his majesty were dead the Parliament stood dissolved, so that there would be an end of their government: which, though it were true in law, would have little shaken their government, of which they were too long possessed to part with easily.

254. But this was a speculation of that nature that nobody had reason to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular[1]; and his majesty thought of nothing so much as

[1] [The following lines are here struck out in the MS., being inserted in the *Life* as printed, but may well be retained here in connection with the text:—'The Chancellor had a great desire to excuse himself from attending upon the Prince in that journey, and represented to his majesty that his office made it more proper for him to be near his majesty's person, and therefore renewed his suit again to him that his service might be spared in that employment; which he was the less inclined to because he had discovered that neither the duke of Richmond or the earl of Southampton did intend to wait upon his highness in that expedition. But the King told him positively, and with some warmth, that if he would not go, he would

hastening the Prince his journey; and to that purpose com- 1645
manded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, and resolved that his highness should make his journey directly to Bristol, and continue his residence there till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an army in the west, the King had no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any such army; and though Goring had prevailed to be sent, with a strong party of horse and some foot, into Hampshire, upon pretence of securing the west from Waller's incursion, and upon some other design, yet the King had not the least purpose that he should be where the Prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, and meant by that device to withdraw himself from the command of prince Rupert, which the King did not apprehend. But having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the lord Hopton to Bristol to provide a house for his highness, and to put that city into as good a posture of security for the Prince his residence as was necessary; nor was there any other strength designed to attend about his highness's person than one regiment of horse and one regiment of foot, for his guards, and both under the command of the lord Capell, who was likewise to raise them upon his own credit and interest: there being at that time not one man raised of horse or foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them when they should be raised, nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's family or his person. In so great scarcity and poverty was the King himself and his Court at Oxford.

255[1]. There happened an accident at this time that reconciled the minds of many to this journey of the Prince into the west, and looked like a good omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King returned through 1644
Somersetshire, after the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, Oct. 9.

not send his son; whereupon he submitted to do anything which his majesty should judge fit for his service.']

[1] [§§ 255–8 from the *Hist.*, p. 36.]

1645 there had been a petition delivered to him in the name of the gentry, clergy, freeholders, and others his majesty's Protestant subjects of the county of Somerset, in which they desired that his majesty would give them leave to petition the Parliament that there might be a treaty for peace, and that they might have liberty to wait upon his majesty in person in his march, and that when they came to a nearer distance they might then go before, and deliver their petition; and if they should not obtain their so just request, they would then assist his majesty to get that by the sword which could be effected no other way. And to that purpose they desired leave to put themselves in arms to attend his majesty in the journey. This petition, how indigested and unpracticable soever in the manner and way proposed, was contrived by some persons of unquestionable fidelity to the King, who thought that under this specious title of petitioners for peace they might draw even that whole populous county to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired, believing it possible that he might even from thence recruit his foot, which he most desired. But the King's speedy march away left that design to be better weighed and digested [1].

256. Upon the first fame of the Prince his being to visit the west and to keep his court there, some gentlemen of the best quality in the west came to Oxford, as intrusted by the rest, to inform his majesty that they had now formed the design they had formerly presented to him much better than it was; and that the four western counties, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had resolved to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the Parliament for peace; which petition should be sent by very many thousands of the most substantial freeholders of the several counties, all who should have money enough in their purses to defray their charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to join in the petition should be looked upon as enemies to peace and their country, and treated as such: so that their address could not but have great

[1] ['disgested,' MS.]

influence upon the Parliament, being under the style of *One and* 1645
All, and could not but be looked upon as such. They desired the King that the Prince might be made general of this association; in order to which they would provide for his support according to his dignity, and in the first place take care for the raising a good guard of horse and foot for the safety of his royal person.

257. Though this design in the notions thereof was as wild and unpracticable as the former, yet his majesty thought not fit to discountenance and reject [it.] It was very vehemently pressed by many persons of quality, in the name [of] the four western counties, and amongst those who took it most to heart sir John Stowell was the chief; a gentleman of one of the largest estates that any man possessed in the west, and who had from the beginning of the Parliament shewed very great affection to the person of the King, and to that government that was settled both in Church and State; and from the beginning of the war had engaged both his own person and his two sons in the most active part of it with singular courage, and had rendered himself as odious to the Parliament as any man of that condition had done. This gentleman, with the assistance and counsel of Mr. Fountayne, a lawyer of eminency, and who had been imprisoned, and banished London, for his declared affection to the Crown, had entertained and formed this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some gentlemen and more of the substantial farmers and freeholders of the country, found such a general concurrence from them, that they concluded it could not but have good success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from peace; so that the King concluded that he would so far comply with them as to make the Prince general of their association, which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension that they promised speedily to make provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his guards of horse and foot; and to that

1645 purpose made haste to Bristol, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

Feb. 14. 258. Upon these reasons, the Prince had two commissions granted to him; this, to be general of the association, and 1644 another, to be general of all the King's forces in England. For Nov. 7. when the King declared his nephew prince Rupert to be general, in the place of the earl of Brayneford, his highness desired that there might be no general in England but the Prince of Wales, and that he might receive his commission from him; which his majesty took well; and so that commission of generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolved that he should act no part in either, but remain quiet in Bristol, till the fate of all armies could be better discerned.

259[1]. The indisposition and melancholique which possessed the Court at Oxford and all the King's party was preserved from despair only by the wonderful discontents and animosities in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had by any united counsels. As soon as the commissioners were returned from Uxbridge, and that a treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other, which was styled Presbyterians) appeared barefaced, and vigorously pressed on their Self-denying Ordinance, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new army by putting out the old officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the troops they had, or making recruit, or preparing any of those provisions which would be necessary for the taking the field. And they were now entered into the month of March, which was used as a strong argument by both parties; the one urging from the season of the year the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the ordinance[2], that the army might be put into a posture of marching; and

[1] [§§ 259–279 from the *Life*, pp. 298–306.]

[2] [The debates to which reference is here made were those in the conferences between the Lords and Commons, in which the latter pressed the acceptance of the ordinance which they had already passed; not, as represented by Clarendon, the debates in the Commons on the ordinance itself, which were in Dec. 1644.]

the other pressing, that so great an alteration ought not to be affected when there was so short a time to make it in; that there would be apparent danger that the enemy would find them without any army at all fit to take the field; and therefore desired that all things might stand as they were till the end of the next *campania*, when, if they saw cause, they might resume this expedient. The other party were loud against the delay, and said, that was the way to make the war last; for, managed as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next *campania* in the same posture they were now; whereas they made no doubt but if this ordinance was passed they should proceed so vigorously, that the next *campania* should put an end to the war. 1645

260. The debate continued many days in the House of Commons, with much passion and sharp reflections upon things and persons; whilst the House of Peers looked on, and attended the resolution below. Of the Presbyterian party, which passionately opposed the ordinance, the chief were Hollis, Stapleton, Glinn, Waller, Longe, and others, who believed their party much superior in number: as the Independent party was led by Nathaniel Fynes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerigg, Martin, and others, who spake more and better than they that opposed them. Of the House of Peers there was none thought to be of their party but the lord Say; all the rest were believed to be of the earl of Essex's party; and so, that it was impossible that the ordinance would ever pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried by the Commons. But they were in this, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to be of one party, appeared to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any peace except the King were first at their mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the war; and many who thought the earl of Essex behaved himself too imperiously were willing to have the command in one who was more their equal; and many were willing he should be angered and humbled, that himself might be more concerned to advance a

1645 peace, which he had not been forward enough to do whilst he held the supreme command.

261. When the debate grew ripe, St. John and Perpoint and Whitlocke and Crew, who had been thought to be of the party of the earl of Essex, appeared for the passing the ordinance, as the only way to unite their counsels and to resist the common enemy, whereas they discovered by what they heard abroad, and by the spirit that governed in the city, that there would be a general dissatisfaction in the people if this ordinance was not passed. Then they fell into a high admiration of the earl of Essex, and extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear that the war would never be carried on so happily as it had been under him, or if it were, that the good success must still be imputed to his conduct and courage, which had formed their armies and taught them to fight. And by this kind of oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for peace and unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surprised and led by some craft that the ordinance was
1644 Dec. 19. passed in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their consent; where nobody imagined it would ever pass.

262. After the battle at York, and the earl of Manc[h]ester was required to march with his army against the King upon the defeat of the earl of Essex in Cornwall, the Scots' army marched northwards, to reduce the little garrisons which still remained
1644 Aug. 13. in those parts, which was easily done. And thereupon they marched to Newcastle, which, being defended only by the
Oct. 22. townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place and by such people. So that having no more to do in those parts, the Parliament thought not fit yet to dismiss them that they might return into their own country, not knowing yet how far their new modelled army would be able to carry on all their designs; and therefore the Scots' army was again advanced as far as York, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

263. Hereupon the King resumed the consideration how he might give such a disturbance to Scotland as might oblige that army to return, to quench the fire in their own country; for all

the advance which had been made towards that, in the con- 1645
ferences with the earl of Mountrose and in the commitment of the duke Hambleton, had been discontinued from that time by the King's not being able to give any troops to that earl, by the protection whereof the loyal party of that kingdom might come to his assistance and discover their affection to his majesty. And though this conjuncture was not more favourable by any power his majesty had to contribute troops or any other assistance towards such an enterprise, yet the vigorous spirit of the earl of Mountrose stirred him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The person whom he most hated and contemned was the marquis of Argyle, who had then the chief government of Scotland; and though he was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had in respect of his estate and authority a very great interest in that kingdom, yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage than insolent and imperious persons who meet with no opposition are never without.

264. And the earl of Mountrose believed that his getting safely into Scotland was much more difficult than it would be to raise men enough there to control the authority of Argyle. There was at that time in Oxford the earl of Antrim, notorious for nothing but for having married the dowager of the great 1645 April.
duke of Buckingham within few years after the death of that favourite; and by the possession of her ample fortune [he] had lived in the Court in great expense and some lustre, until his riot had contracted so great a debt that he was necessitated to leave the kingdom, and to retire to his own fortune in Ireland (which was very fair,) together with his wife, who gave him great reputation, being a lady (besides her own great extraction and fortune, as heir to the house of Rutland and wife and mother to the duke[s] of Buckingham,) of a very great wit and spirit, who made the littleness of her present husband (who was a handsome man too) well received in all places: so that they had lived in Ireland in great splendour, as they might well do, till that rebellion drave the lady again from thence, to find

1645 a livelihood out of her own estate in England. And so she had upon the Queen's first coming to Oxford likewise brought herself thither, where she found great respect from all. The earl of Antrim, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a marvellous weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner 1642 without the company and counsel of his wife than he betook April. himself to the rebels, with an imagination that his quality and fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, certainly, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the marquis of Ormonde; which was so uneasy and torturing an ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The rebels were glad of his presence, and to have his name known to be amongst them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them, but relied much more upon his brother, Alexander Mackdonnell, who was fast to their party, and in their most secret counsels.

265. The earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Pro- 1643 testant quarters, and from thence into England, and so to Dec. 16. Oxford, where his wife then was, and made his presence not unacceptable, the King not having then notice of his having ever been amongst the Irish rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in Ireland to serve the King, and to dispose the Irish to a peace, if he had any countenance from the King; which his majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the earl of Antrim had his original extraction in Scotland, or the marquis of Arguyle his in Ireland, must be left to the determination of the bards of the family of Mackdonnells, to the superiority whereof they both pretend, and the earl of Antrim to much of those lands in the Highlands of Scotland which were possessed by Arguyle: and the greatest part of his estate in Ireland was in that part of Ulster that lies next Scotland, and his dependents of the same language and manner of living with the Highlanders of Scotland. The knowledge of this disposed the earl of Mountrose to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to Oxford, and to

consult with him whether it might not be possible to draw a [1644]
body of men out of Ireland, to be such a foundation for raising forces in Scotland as might advance the enterprise he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in Scotland had very good affections for the King, and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery they had long endured under the tyranny of Arguyle. The passage over the sea in those parts between Ireland and Scotland is so narrow that the people often make their markets in one and the other in the space of few hours; and the hardiness of both people is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet, or clothing, or the great commodity of lodging; and were very fit to constitute an army that was not to depend upon any supplies of money, or arms, or victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

266. The earl of Antrim, who was naturally a great undertaker, and desired nothing so much as that the King should believe him to be a man of interest and power in Ireland, was infinitely exalted when he discovered, by the earl of Mountrose, that he had indeed credit enough in that part of Ireland to perform a service for the King, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the earl of Mountrose that, if the King would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it into Scotland, and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believed all the clan of the Mackdonnells in the Highlands of Scotland might be persuaded to follow him. When the earl of Mountrose had formed such a reasonable undertaking as he believed the earl of Antrim might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the lord Digby with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him to propose it to the King, and to let his majesty know that he was so confident of the earl of Antrim's performance of what should be necessary, (for he would be very well content if he could send over a body but of two thousand men into the islands[1], which he well knew he

[1] [This word is doubtful in the MS., having been altered. It is ap-

[1644] could easily do,) that he would himself be in the Highlands to receive them, and run his fortune with them, if his majesty would give him leave to gather up such a number of his countrymen about Oxford as would be willing to accompany him, and with those he would make his way thither; and that, if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, he did hope, that by the time the Scots' army in England should be ready to take the field, they should receive such an alarum from their own country as should hinder their advance.

267. Upon this overture the King conferred with the two earls together; and finding the earl of Antrim forward to undertake the raising as many men as should be desired if he might have the King's commission to that purpose, and knowing well that he had in that part of the kingdom interest enough to do it; and the earl of Mountrose as confidently assuring his majesty, that with two thousand men landed in the Highlands he would quickly raise an army, with which he would disquiet that kingdom; and the design being more probable than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose; his majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it any countenance, for he had neither money nor arms nor ammunition to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection that appeared at the first entrance into it was, that, though the earl of Antrim had power in Ulster and amongst the Roman Catholics, he was very odious to the Protestants, and obnoxious to the State at Dublin, many things being discovered against him of his correspondence with the rebels, which were not known when he came into England. But that which gave most umbrage, (for nobody suspected his conjunction with the rebels,) was his declared malice to the Lord Lieutenant, the marquis of Ormonde, and the contempt the marquis had of him; and so he [the marquis would] undervalue any proposition should be made by him, who was of so notable a levity and inconstancy that he did not use to intend the same thing long. There could be no trusting him with any commission independ-

parently 'Isands'; was printed as 'Scotland,' taking the preceding 'the' as part of the word, in the first edition, and as 'Highlands' in the last.]

ent upon the marquis of Ormonde, or to do any thing in Ireland [1644]
without his privity, and such a limitation would by no means be grateful to the other. Besides the benefit that Scotland would receive by the carrying away any body of men out of Ulster, it would be a great lessening and abatement of the strength of the Irish rebels, who had the command over those parts; but then if the earl of Antrim, under any authority from the King, should indiscreetly behave himself, (as no man who loved him best had any confidence in his discretion,) all the reproaches cast upon his majesty of his countenancing those rebels would receive the greatest confirmation imaginable.

268. The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an intrigue in the Court which for some time had been eclipsed. Daniel O'Neale, (who was in subtlety and understanding much superior to the whole nation of the old Irish,) had long laboured to be of the bedchamber to the King. He was very well known in the Court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the winter seasons in the one, and the summer always in the army in the other; which was as good an education towards advancement in the world as that age knew any: and he had a fair reputation in both climates, having a competent fortune of his own to support himself without dependence or beholdingness, and a natural insinuation and address which made him acceptable in the best company. And he was a great observer and discerner of men's natures and humours, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the first troubles began in Scotland, he had, with the first, the command of a troop of horse; to which he was by all men held very equal, having had good experience in the most active armies of that time, and a courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable when his honour required it, or his particular interest, which he was never without and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

269. In the second troubles in Scotland he had a greater command, and some part in most of the intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the

[1644] destruction of the earl of Strafford, against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his nation: yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he entered into those new intrigues very frankly which were contrived at Court with less circumspection than both the season and the weight of the affair required[1]. Amongst those to whom the Queen had promised preferment in the beginning of the troubles, O'Neale was one whom her majesty had promised to make groom of the King's bedchamber, and Percy and Wilmott being now made lords by virtue of that promise that had been made at the same time, he had pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very solicitous with the King on his behalf, being conscious to herself that he had been encouraged to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the earl of Strafford, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his

[1] [The following passage is here struck out in the MS.: 'And in this combination, in which men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompense for the adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen to hope, to be made groom of the bedchamber when a vacancy should appear. When the civil war began, he[2], being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the Parliament upon a charge of high treason[3], chose rather to be lieutenant colonel of horse to prince Rupert than the name of a greater officer, which he might well have pretended to, presuming that by his dexterity he should have such an interest in that young prince as might make his relation superior to those who had greater titles. And he had the misfortune at the first coming of the prince to have credit with him to make some impressions and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those foundations which he hoped to have had the sole authority to have supervised and directed. When he saw some of his fraternity promoted to offices and honours, who had ventured or suffered no more than he, (for he had been committed to the Tower by the Parliament, and if he had not made his escape from thence very dexterously in a lady's dress, he had been in danger of his life,) and whose pretences were no better founded than upon the promises made at the same time when he had promised himself to be of the bedchamber, he had pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance;' &c.]

1642 May 6.

[2] ['and he,' MS.]

[3] [He was committed to the Gatehouse, Dec. 18, 1641, and removed thence to the Tower by order of Jan. 26, 1642.]

friends or the Queen herself; who bade him expect a better conjuncture; which Mr. O'Neale took very heavily, and the more because his condition in the army was less pleasant to him, by prince Rupert's withdrawing his graces from him. [1644]

270. This design of uniting the earls of Mountrose and Antrim, which was yet wholly managed with the King by the lord Digby, who was likewise of most intimate friendship with Mr. O'Neale, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was universally known that Mr. O'Neale, whether by alliance or friendship or long acquaintance, had more power with the earl of Antrim than any man, and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his nature, (in which he was superior to most men,) he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious that the marquis of Ormonde loved Mr. O'Neale very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the lord Digby told the King, that he had thought of an expedient, which he did believe might relieve him in the perplexities he sustained concerning the conduct of the earl of Antrim; and then proposed the sending O'Neale with him, who should first dissuade him to affect to have any commission himself to act any thing in Ireland, but to depend upon the assistance and authority of the marquis of Ormonde; who should be required by the King to contribute all he could for the making those levies of men, and for the impressing of ships and other vessels for their transportation into the Highlands; and then that he should go over himself with the earl, and stay with him during his abode in Dublin; by which he would preserve a good intelligence between him and the marquis of Ormonde, and dispose the marquis of Ormonde to gratify him in all things that might concern so important a service; which, besides the letters he should carry with him from the King, his own credit with the marquis, and his singular address, would easily bring to pass.

271. This proposition was very agreeable to the King, who knew O'Neale was very equal to this function; and the lord Digby did not in the least insinuate any design for O'Neale's advantage in the service, which would have diverted the nego-

[1644] tiation: and thereupon his majesty himself spake to him of the whole design, the lord Digby desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his majesty's approbation. And he received it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked him whether he thought the earl had interest enough in those parts of Ireland to levy and transport a body of men into the Highlands, he answered readily, that he knew well that there were so many there where the earl's estate lay who depended absolutely upon him, that there would be men enough ready to go whither, or do what, he required them, and that the men were hardy and stout for any service: but the drawing a body of them together, and transporting them, would require, he doubted, more power than the earl himself had or was master of. He said, there were two objections in view, and a third that he was not willing for many reasons to make. The first was, that nothing of that nature could be done without the authority and power of the marquis of Ormonde, which, no doubt, would be applied to any purpose his majesty should direct; yet that the earl of Antrim had behaved himself so indiscreetly towards the marquis, and so unhandsomely disobliged him, that it could not but be the severest command his majesty could lay upon him to enter into any kind of conjunction or conversation with him [the earl]. The second was, that, though the earl's interest could make as many men as he desired to enter into any action or engagement he would prescribe, he much doubted the Irish commander in chief, who had the military power of those parts, would hardly permit a body of those men, which they reckoned their best soldiers, to be transported, and thereby their own strength to be lessened; which was an objection of weight, and not mentioned before to the King, nor considered by him. He said he was unwilling to make another objection, which reflected upon a person so dear to him, and for whom he would at any time lay down his life; which was, that he much feared the earl of Antrim had not steadiness of mind enough to go through such an undertaking, which otherwise would be as easy as honourable.

272. The King, well satisfied with the discourse he made, [1644] told him, that he was not himself without the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to secure it, which was, if he would undertake the journey with him, by which all his fears would be composed; his counsel would govern the earl in all things, and his credit with the marquis of Ormonde, which should be improved by his majesty's recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the earl. The King added, that the service itself was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his crown, and therefore his conducting it, (without which he saw little hope of success,) would be a matter of great merit, and could not be unrewarded. O'Neale seemed wonderfully surprised with the proposition, and, in some disorder (which he could handsomely put on when he would), said, that he would never disobey any command his majesty would positively lay upon him, but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him to receive such a command as would deprive him of attending upon his majesty in the next *campania*, when he was sure there must be a battle; when he would rather lose his life than be absent. Then he said, though the earl of Antrim was his kinsman and his friend, and one who, he thought, loved him better than he did any other man, yet he was the last man in England with whom he would be willing to join in any enterprise; mentioning his pride and levity and weakness and many infirmities: which made it appear more requisite that a wiser man should have the application of his interest, which he knew must be himself. The King renewed his desire to him to undertake the service, as the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with lord Digby, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the earl of Antrim to communicate the affair to him, and to wish his assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the lord Digby had not before imparted to him, though the King suspected it not.

273. The lord Digby had now brought the business to the state he wished; and within two or three days told the King

[1644] how glad the earl of Antrim was that he had leave to communicate the matter with O'Neale, and desired nothing more than that his majesty would command him to go over with him; which was an excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen the person who was only fit to be with him, whereas he might have been jealous if he had been first recommended to him. The earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken notice of the difficulty he might find to draw his men out of the Irish quarters, by the opposition of those who commanded there in chief: but, he said, if the King would make O'Neale go with him, all that difficulty would be removed; for Owen O'Neale, who was uncle to Daniel, was the general of all the Irish in Ulster, and incomparably the best soldier and the wisest man that was amongst the Irish rebels, having long served the King of Spain in Flanders in very eminent command; and the earl said, that he was sure Daniel had that credit with his uncle that he would not refuse, at his request, to connive at what was necessary for the earl to do; which was all he desired.

274. The lord Digby left not this circumstance, (which he pretended never to have thought of before,) unobserved, to advance the counsel he had given for employing O'Neale; whom he took occasion then to magnify again, and told the King that he had already convinced the earl of Antrim of the folly of desiring any other commission than what the marquis of Ormonde should find necessary to give him, and how impossible [it was] for him to have any success in that design without the cheerful concurrence and friendship of the marquis of Ormonde; which the earl was now brought to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should be advised to compass it. But after all this, he lamented his obstinate aversion to undertake the journey for many reasons; and had obliged him, under all the obligations of the friendship that was between them, that he would prevail with his majesty that he might not be absent from his charge in the army in a season when there must be so much action, and when his majesty's person, whom he so dearly loved, must be in so great danger; that he had told him freely,

that he could not honestly move his majesty to that purpose, [1644]
whom he knew to be so possessed of the necessity of his going into Ireland with the earl that he would despair of the whole enterprise, which was the most hopeful he had in his view, if he did not cheerfully submit to act his part towards it: but that notwithstanding all he had said, by which he had shut out all farther importunity towards himself, his majesty must expect to be very much struggled with, and that O'Neale would lay himself at his feet, and get all his friends to join with him in a supplication for his majesty's pardon; and that there was no more to be done but that his majesty, with some warmth, should command him to desist from farther importunity, and to comply with what he would expect from him; which, he said, he knew would silence all further opposition: for that Mr. O'Neale had that entire resignation to his majesty's pleasure that he would rather die than offend him. Upon which, and to cut off all farther mediation and interposition, the King presently sent for him, and graciously conjured him, with as much passion as he could shew, to give over all hope of excuse, and to provide for his journey within three or four days, the season of the year requiring all imaginable expedition; this conclusion being made during the treaty of Uxbridge[1], when it was easy enough to discern what the issue of it would be, or, if it should be as good as could be wished, no inconvenience could result from this preparation.

275. All things being thus disposed, and the King expecting every day that the earl and Mr. O'Neale would take their leaves, the lord Digby came to him, and said, Mr. O'Neale had an humble suit to his majesty at parting; which to him did not seem unreasonable, and therefore he hoped his majesty would raise the spirits of the poor man, since he did believe in his conscience that he desired it more for the advancement of his service than to satisfy his own ambition. He put him in mind of the long pretence he had to be groom of his bedchamber, for the which he could not choose but say that he had the Queen's

[1] [Clarendon places the whole of this negotiation a year too late; it took place in Jan. 1644, or at the end of Dec. 1643.]

[1644] promise at the same time when Percy and Wilmott had the like for their honours, which they had since received the accomplishment of: that his majesty had not yet rejected the suit, but only deferred the granting it, not without giving him leave in due time to hope it: that there could not be so proper a season for his majesty to confer this grace: that Mr. O'Neale was without a rival, and in the eyes of all men equal to his pretence, and so no man could be offended at the success: that he was now upon an employment of great trust, chosen by his majesty as the only person who could bring an enterprise of that vast expectation to a good end by his conduct and dexterity: that it must be a journey of great expense, besides the danger or hazard of it, yet he asked no money, because he knew there was none to be had; he begged only that he might depart with such a character and testimony of his majesty's favour and good opinion, that he might be the better qualified to perform the trust that was reposed in him: that the conferring this honour upon him at this time would increase the credit he had with the earl of Antrim, at least confirm his inconstant nature in an absolute confidence in him: it would make him more considerable to the marquis of Ormonde and the Council there, with whom he might have occasion often to confer about his majesty's service; but, above all, it would give him that authority over his countrymen, and would be such an obligation upon the whole Irish nation, (there having never yet been any Irishman admitted to so near a place to the person of the King,) that it might produce unexpected effects, and could not fail of disposing Owen O'Neale, the general, to hearken to any thing his nephew should ask of him.

276. How much reason soever this discourse carried with it, with all the insinuation a very powerful speaker could add to it in the delivery, the lord Digby found an aversion and weariness in the King all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a countenance as if he thought his majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, that he much doubted his majesty would too late repent his aversion in this particular, and that men ought not to be sent upon such errands with the

sharp sense of any disobligation: that if his majesty pleased, he might settle this affair in such a manner as Mr. O'Neale might go away very well pleased, and his majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution that Mr. O'Neale should not be yet in so near an attendance about his person: that the employment was full of hazard, however would require a very great expense of time: that he was a man of that nature as would not leave a business half done, and would be ashamed to see his majesty's face before there were some very considerable effect of his activity and industry; considering what was to be done in Ireland, and the posture of affairs in England, it might be a very long time before Mr. O'Neale might find himself again in the King's presence, to enter upon his office in the bedchamber; and therefore proposed, that the hour he was to leave Oxford he might be sworn groom of the bedchamber; by which he should depart only with a title, the effect whereof he should not be possessed of before he had very well deserved it, and returned again to his majesty's presence; which must take up much time, and possibly might require more than the other had to live. This last prevailed more than all the rest; and [in] the imagination that the other might be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, his majesty consented that in the last article of time he should be sworn before his departure; with which the other was well contented, making little doubt but that he should be able to despatch that part of the business to which he was incumbent in so short a time as he might return to his attendance in the bedchamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his majesty before the battle of Naseby in the summer following. [1644] Jan. 21.

277. Whilst this intrigue was carrying on for Mr. O'Neale, there was another as unacceptable set on foot on the behalf of the earl of Antrim, for whose person the King had as little regard or kindness as for any man of his rank. The duchess of Buckingham, his wife, was now in Oxford, whom the King always heard with favour; his majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former husband, whom he thought she had forgot

[1644] too soon. This lady, being of a great wit and spirit, when she found that the King now thought her husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolved he should carry with him some testimony of the King's esteem; which she thought would be at last some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the King that her husband was so eclipsed in Ireland by the no-countenance his majesty had ever shewed towards him, and by his preferring some who were his equals to degrees and trusts above him, and by raising others who were in all respects much inferior to him to the same title with him and to authority above him, that she believed he had not credit and interest enough to do the service he desired to do: that in that country the lords and greatest men had reputation over their tenants and vassals as they were known to have grace from the King; and when they were known to be without that, they had no more power than to exact their own just services. She lamented the misfortune of her husband, which she had the more reason to do because it proceeded from her; and that, whereas he had reason to have expected that by his marriage with her he might have been advanced in the Court and in his majesty's favour, he had found so little benefit from thence that he might well believe, as she did, that he suffered for it; otherwise, it would not have been possible for a person of the earl of Antrim's estate and interest, and so well qualified, as she had reason to believe him to be, in all respects, after the expense of so much money as he had spent in attendance upon the Court, to be without any mark or evidence of his majesty's favour; and to return now again in the same forlorn condition into Ireland would but give his enemies more encouragement to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance his majesty's service. In conclusion, she desired that the King would make her husband a marquis; without which she did as good as declare that he should not undertake that employment. And though his majesty was neither pleased with the matter or the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience in the gratifying him as might weigh down the benefit he expected with reference to

Scotland; which the earl of Mountrose every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of. And thereupon [1] he gave order for a warrant to make the earl of Antrim a marquis. [1644] 1645 [2] Jan. 26.

278. And so he and Mr. O'Neale, being well pleased, began their journey for Ireland; and at the same time the earl of Mountrose took his leave of the King with several gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into Scotland, which was looked upon as a very desperate attempt, the King's quarters extending at that time no farther northward than Worcester, all between that and Scotland being possessed by the Parliament and the Scots' army. But the earl of Mountrose, after he had continued his journey two or three days in that equipage which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the enemy's troops together for the guard of all passes to meet with him, was [3] found missing one morning by his company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to Oxford, whilst that noble person, with incredible address and fatigue, had not only quitted his company and his servants but his horse also, [and] found a safe passage, for the most part on foot, through all the enemy's quarters, till he came to the very borders: from whence, by the assistance of friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet, without undertaking any action, until the earl of Antrim, by the countenance and assistance of the marquis of Ormonde, did make good so much of his undertaking that he sent over his kinsman Alexander Mackdonnell, a stout and an active officer, (whom they called, by an Irish appellation, *Calkito* [4],) with a regiment of fifteen hundred soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in Scotland at or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the earl of Mountrose was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy, and quickly published his commis- 1644 Feb. 23 [2]. 1644 July 6.

[1] [Antrim's Instructions from the King are dated Jan. 20, 164$\frac{3}{4}$. *Clar. State Papers*, ii. 165. And Carte says he left Oxford about Jan. 21. *Life of Ormonde*, i. 479. And his creation as marquis followed in Jan. of the next year, 1645, as the reward (as stated in the patent) for his expedition into Scotland.] [2] [Dugdale's *Diary*, p. 62.] [3] ['he was,' MS.]

[4] [Mac Cholla-chiotach, son of Coll the left-handed. Napier's *Life of Montrose*, 1840, p. 329.]

[1644] sion[1] of being general for the King over all that kingdom. And with this handful of men, brought together with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so many of his own countrymen to join with him as were strong enough to arm themselves at the charge of their enemies whom they first defeated; and every day increasing in power, till he fought and prevailed in so many several battles that he made himself, upon the matter, master of that kingdom, and did all those stupendous acts which deservedly are the subject of a history by itself, excellently written in Latin by a learned prelate of that nation[2]. The preamble to it was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages which were not known to many, and in which the artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the motions in that sphere use to be. And there will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of this discourse, to mention that noble lord again, and his zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad catastrophe.

1645 279. The King found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliament and the factions in the city, there would be an army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the March 4. more impatient that the Prince should leave Oxford and begin his journey to Bristol; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the treaty at Uxbridge[3]. And since the King did at that time within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the Prince should only keep his court in the west that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any martial action, or being as much as present in any army, it had been very happy, and to discerning men seemed then a thing desirable, if he had removed his Court into the west too, either to Bristol, or, which it may be had been better, to Exciter. For since Reading and Abbington were both possessed by the Parlia-

[1] [Dated at Oxford, Feb. 1,'1644. Napier's *Life of Montrose*, 1840, p. 248.]

[2] [George Wishart, bishop of Edinburgh in 1662. His book was first published at Amsterdam in 1648.]

[3] [The text is here taken from the *Hist.*, pp. 37–9, to the end of § 283.]

ment, and thereby Oxford become the head quarter, it was not 1645
so fit that the Court should remain there; which, by the multitude of ladies and persons of quality who resided there, would not probably endure such an attack of the enemy as the situation of the place and the good fortifications which enclosed it might very well bear. Nor would the enemy have sat down before it till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presumed that the inhabitants within would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. And if at this time a good garrison had only been left there, and all the Court and persons of quality removed into the west with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced those small garrisons which stood out to the King's obedience; and the King himself might by the spring have been able to have carried a good recruit of men to his army, and might likewise have made Oxford the place of rendezvous at the time when it should be fit for him to take the field. But the truth is, not only the ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of state, but very few of the rest, of what degree or quality soever, who had excellent accommodations in the colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, [have] been content to have changed their quarters. Besides, the King had that royal affection for the university, that he thought it well deserved the honour of his own presence, and always resolved that it should never be so exposed to the extremity of war as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary conditions for the preservation of so venerable a place from rapine, sacrilege, and destruction.

280. And so that consideration of removing the Court from thence was only secretly entered upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any public debate. And since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole council which was assigned to attend the Prince had been obliged to have performed that service. But both the duke of Richmond and the earl of Southampton, who were men of great reputation and authority, excused themselves to the King for not submitting to that his command, and for desiring to con-

1645 tinue still about his person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his majesty, to whom he had adhered with that signal fidelity and affection when so many had deserted him; the other being newly married[1], and engaged in a family, which he could not without infinite inconveniences have left behind him, nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuse, having named them at first rather to obviate some jealousies which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the west, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the service. However, it was easy to be foreseen that upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were obliged to that duty would not have reputation enough to extort that general submission and obedience which ought to be paid to the commands of the Prince; and of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

281. There was an act of divine justice about this time executed by those at Westminster, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the acts of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged, and some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the King, and refused to give him entrance into that town, when he came thither attended only by his own servants, before the beginning of the war; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the war. It was the more wonderful, that a person of a full and ample fortune, who was not disturbed by any fancies in religion, had unquestioned duty to the Crown, and reverence for the government both of Church and State, should so foolishly expose himself and his family, of great antiquity, to comply with the humours of those men whose persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But as his particular animosity against the earl of Strafford first engaged him in that company, so his vanity and ambition, and the con-

[1] [To his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Leigh, lord Dunsmore.]

cessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, 1645
made him concur farther with them than his own judgment disposed him to. And he had taken upon him the government of Hull without any apprehension or imagination that it would ever make [him] an accessory to rebellion; but believed that, when the King and Parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours which that party resolved to divide amongst themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the lord Digby and Ashburnham, and his inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large [1]; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his father, was that alone that preserved him longer in the government, besides that they had so constituted the garrison that they knew it could never be in the father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the son's behaviour, and that the pride and stubbornness of his nature would not suffer him to submit to the command of the lord Fayrefax and that superiority over both his father and him with which the Parliament had invested him, and had some inkling of secret messages between the marquis of Newcastle and him, they caused both father and son to be suddenly seized upon [2], and sent up prisoners to the Parliament, which immediately committed them to the Tower upon a charge of high treason.

282. Though they had evidence enough against them, yet they had so many friends in both Houses of Parliament, and some of that interest in the army, that they were preserved from farther prosecution, and remained prisoners in the Tower for above the space of a year, without being brought to any

[1] [Book V. §§. 432–435.]

[2] [Sir John was seized June 29, 1643, and his son the day before: the former was committed to the Tower by order of the House of Commons on Sept. 6, and the latter on Oct. 3.]

1645 trial; so that they believed their punishment to be at the highest. But when that party prevailed that resolved to new model the army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity as might terrify all men from falling from them, they called importunately that the two Hothams might be tried by a court of war for their treachery and treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them had now lost their interest; so that they were both brought to their trial [1] about the time of the treaty of Uxbridge, and both condemned to lose their heads; the principal charge against the father being, his having dismissed the lord Digby; and a letter being produced, by the treachery of a servant, that the son had sent to the marquis of Newcastle. The vile artifices which were used both before and after their trial were so barbarous and inhuman as have been rarely practised amongst Christians. It was declared to them, or at least insinuated by Hugh Peters, who was the chaplain sent to them to prepare them to die, that there was no purpose to take both their lives, but that the death of one of them should suffice; which put either of them to use all the inventions and devices he could to save himself; and so the father aggravated the faults of the son, and the son as carefully inveighed against the father as a man that hated the Parliament and all their proceedings; and either of them furnished Mr. Peters (upon whose credit and mediation they both depended) with arguments against the other.

283. The father was first condemned to suffer upon a day appointed, and the son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following. The night before or the very morning that
Dec. 31. sir John Hotham was to die, a reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and, to prevent the like mischieve for the future, they
Jan. 1. made an order to all mayors, shrieves, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, that no reprieve should be granted or allowed for any person against whom the sentence of death was pronounced, except the same had passed and had the consent of both Houses

[1] [The father on Nov. 30, and the son on Dec. 9. The former was condemned on Dec. 7, the latter on Dec. 24.]

of Parliament, and that if it passed only by the House of Peers 1645
it should be looked upon as invalid and void, and execution should not be thereupon forborne or suspended. By this accident the son was brought to his execution before his father, Jan. 1.
upon the day on which he was sentenced to suffer; who died with courage, and, reproaching the ingratitude of the Parliament and their continuing of the war, concluded, that as to them he was very innocent, and had never been guilty of treason. The father was brought to the scaffold the next day: for the House of Commons, to shew their prerogative over the Lords, sent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower that he Jan. 2.
should cause him to be executed that very day, which was two days before the reprieve granted by the House of Peers was expired. Whether he had yet some promise from Peters that he should only be shewed to the people, and so returned again safe to the Tower, which was then generally reported and believed, or whether he was broken with despair, (which is the more probable,) when he saw that his enemies prevailed so far that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor man appeared so dispirited that he scarce spake one word after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor Peters to tell the people that he had revealed himself to him, and confessed his offences against the Parliament; and so he committed his head to the block. This was the woful tragedy of those two unhappy gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear to all men who knew their natures, humours, and transactions.

284[1]. Since the last office of a general, with reference to the King's quarters, which the earl of Essex performed before he found it necessary to surrender his commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the nature of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a letter signed by the earl of Essex, and sent by April 4.

[1] [§§ 284–6 from the *Life*, pp. 309 and 308.]

1645 a trumpet to prince Rupert, but penned by a committee of Parliament, and perused by both Houses before it was signed by their general, who used in all despatches made by himself to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The Parliament had some Oct. 24. months before made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be taken prisoners either at sea or land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had, as often as he met with any of the Irish frigates at sea, or such freebooters as sailed under their commission, [taken][1] all the seamen who became prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and [thrown][1] them overboard into the sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were Irish. And in this barbarous manner very many poor men perished daily; of which when it was generally known the King said nothing, because none of those persons were in his majesty's service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his majesty could not complain of it without undergoing the reproach of being concerned on the behalf, and in favour, of the rebels of Ireland.

285. But there had been lately in some service at land some prisoners taken of the King's troops, and, upon pretence that they were Irishmen, as many as they thought to be of that nation were all hanged, to the number of ten or a dozen[2]. Whereupon prince Rupert, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity taken an equal number of the Parliament soldiers, had caused them likewise to be hanged upon the next tree; which the Parliament declared to be an act of great injustice and cruelty, and appointed the earl of Essex to expostulate with prince Rupert, in the letter they had caused to be penned for him, very rudely, and to send a copy of their ordinance enclosed in the said letter, with expressions full of reproach for his presumption in making an ordinance of theirs the argument to justify an action of so much inhumanity; which

[1] ['took—threw,' MS.]

[2] [Thirteen, at Shrewsbury, in March 1645. *Lords' Journals*, vii. 305, 329.]

was the first knowledge the King had of any such declaration with reference to the war in England, nor had there been from the beginning of it any such example made. Prince Rupert returned such an answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation[1], and sent it to the earl of Essex; who the day before he received it had given up his commission, but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some of them saying that they wondered it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepared at Uxbridge. 1645 April 15. April 22.

286. It was upon the fourth of March that the Prince parted from the King his father, and about a week after came to Bristol[2]. And he had not been there above two or three days, when letters were intercepted that discovered a design of Waller's, who had passed by the lord Goring and put relief into Taunton, and hoped to have surprised Bristol in his return; whereupon two or three of his correspondents fled out of the city, and the rest were so exasperated with the discovery that they readily consented to any thing that was proposed. And so the lord Hopton put all things into so good a posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend Waller; and he himself was required to return to London, to deliver up his commission upon the Self-denying Ordinance. May 11.

And so the year 1644 ended, which shall conclude this part.

[1] [The commencement of this sentence originally stood thus in the MS.: —'Prince Rupert brought that letter to the Chancellor, and desired him to prepare such an answer as he thought fit for him to return; which he did, with a sharpness equal to the provocation, in which he was not usual (*sic*) too reserved, and presented it to the consideration of his royal highness prince Rupert and the lords of the council, and it being approved by them prince Rupert signed it.']

[2] [The following passage is here struck out in the MS. together with another draft of the remainder of the section:—'Where he was now to act a part by himself, as the affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and Prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise more strength than was necessary to the security of his own person, or that indeed he should move farther westward than that city.']

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

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